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PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S PROMOTION of Ambassador Houghton from the Berlin Embassy to London is doubly praiseworthy. The advance has been well earned by Mr. Houghton, and it establishes the principle of promotion for merit within the service. If we do not err this is almost the only case in which the London position has been filled by the promotion of a diplomat. If Mr. Houghton is not an orator, or man of letters, he has displayed in Berlin all the qualities requisite for his new post, and he stands head and shoulders above Mr. Kellogg both as a man and as an official. Coming to Berlin with an excellent knowledge of Germany and the German language, Mr. Houghton entered upon his difficult task of renewing relations with the beaten enemy without hate or condescension, with friendliness, tact, sympathy for their desperate plight, and with genuine skill. It is a pleasant thought that the new Ambassador to London will come to his task familiar with the European situation and able to bring to his work in connection with the Dawes Plan a unique understanding of conditions in Berlin. Another similarly commendable action is the President's promotion of Mr. John J. Kiely, the assistant postmaster in New York, to the postmastership made vacant by the death of Edward M. Morgan. His promotion will bring encouragement to a body of faithful but overworked and gravely underpaid officials accustomed to seeing the prize positions in the service given to politicians. We must also record our satisfaction that the President is dispensing with the services of his secretary, C. Bascom Slemp, who should never have been appointed, and is giving Representative Everett Sanders of Indiana his place.

WAGE CUTS which were held in abeyance until after the Presidential election have now been put into effect pretty generally in the cotton mills of New England. The textile workers of Fall River have just accepted a reduction in their pay of 10 per cent and a similar cut has been decreed in New Bedford and in Springfield and in certain mills in Rhode Island. Reductions were ordered earlier in the season in Lawrence and in many New Hampshire mills. The textile trades, especially cotton, are in the throes of a severe slump, and as usual the workers have to pay the penalty even though the fault lies elsewhere. Obviously something more constructive than cutting wages is needed to restore New England's cotton industry, adversely affected both by a weak international market and by the competition of the South. In view of the generally strict laws against child labor in New England one would expect to see its cotton manufacturers lining up for the proposed federal amendment on that subject in order to protect themselves against the competition of child-made goods in the South. The fact that New England cotton manufacturers are generally opposing the amendment suggests that their interests in the South are greater than is generally known, and that they are keener to exploit cheap labor there than to restore their business in New England.

THE KU KLUX KLAN thought it could finish Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver at the November election. It had captured the Republican organization, and the Coolidge-Ku Klux flood washed into office every Republican candidate in Denver County but two; one Democrat unopposed by the Klan—and Judge Lindsey. Lindsey had fought the Klan from the moment it swept reaction into Colorado, and when the election came it saw its chance to wipe out its enemy and the liberal principles he stood for. During the campaign it used every weapon of force and slander at its command, but Lindsey was elected because the people of Denver believed in him. He ran some 30,000 votes ahead of Davis. But the Klan is not through with Judge Lindsey; his margin of votes was less than 200 and the election is being contested. His heavy vote in foreign-born precincts offers the possibility of invalid ballots; it is charged that pencils were supplied in several polling-places instead of the pen and ink required by law. Lindsey hopes to win the contest; but that will not necessarily save the children's court. A bill has been introduced into the legislature to abolish the court and increase the number of appointed judges—making way for Lindsey's defeated opponent. The Klan controls the lower house, but the sympathy of the Senate is still doubtful. The fate of the Denver juvenile court is hanging in the balance; money will be needed to fight against its abolition and to support Judge Lindsey in the contest. Friends of the court and the principles it stands for may send their contributions through *The Nation*.

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A CLOSE-SEASON for governors seems almost necessary. With Governor Davis of Kansas being arrested and rearrested on charges of selling pardons with the aid of his son and others, ex-Governor McCray of Indiana in the Atlanta Penitentiary, ex-Governor Ferguson of Texas under the stigma of having been impeached and removed, and Governor Small of Illinois, after one trial, under new charges of embezzlement of public funds when in another State office, the time seems ripe for a moratorium for governor-baiting. What will become of our reputation for the best and purest form of government in the world if this sort of thing goes on? And just at this unfortunate juncture the Republican sub-committee of the Senate Oil Committee has pronounced the former Secretary of the Interior, Albert Fall, beyond even Republican condonation. How nice all this will sound abroad! Will it not be exploited in Russia as fresh proof of the decay of capitalist civilization? This is the time when we were all to settle down, make money to our heart's content, and enjoy Coolidge prosperity. Could there be a more constructive scheme for the preservation of our national honor than a bill to extend immunity to all governors now in office for any acts committed in the past or hereafter?

THE SENATE has passed the Underwood bill authorizing the government to turn over its nitrate plant and vast water-power development at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, to a private lessee. The report of Senator Norris's Committee on Agriculture in favor of continued federal control has been discarded. The bill has still to run the gantlet of the House; and so there is opportunity yet for the public to insist that this great water-power shall not be alienated from the people. The House voted last year to turn over Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford, but that was rather a gesture in favor of the Detroit flivver-maker personally than an indorsement of private ownership as such. The House is by no means committed in advance to the Underwood bill, and the measure should not be permitted to go through without another fight. Our politicians are forever giving away our valuable federal properties and then turning around and buying some utility of which private ownership has been unable to make a success, like the Cape Cod Canal (the story of which was told in *The Nation* of January 7). When public ownership has failed in this country it has usually been because the government took over a failure.

EAST AND WEST MEET in the opium conferences at Geneva, and happily the representatives of the United States have sided with the East. Seldom has the selfishness of colonial Powers exposed itself more clearly than in this amazing lineup—Great Britain, France, and Holland, the imperial masters of coolie colonies, forming the "Opium Bloc" which has set itself against immediate steps toward suppression of the drug traffic; and against them Turkey, Persia, China, Japan, the disinterested Powers, and the United States. *The Nation* will publish next week a revealing article by Miss Ellen LaMotte upon the machinations at the League conferences in November and December. Those conferences adjourned with their work unfinished, but it was hoped that after a month of prayer and meditation the delegates would return with a new eagerness to accomplish their task. That hope has been disappointed. The United States proposed measures to abolish opium consumption in ten years. Viscount Cecil (doubtless on instruction from Britain's Tory Government) made a worse than useless counter-proposal. Declaring that opium-eating was "sometimes beneficial," he said that England would agree to abolish opium-*smoking* in the British colonies in the East—within fifteen years after China has effectively suppressed opium-growing in China! That should make the judges who recently awarded the $25,000 Woodrow Wilson prize to England's war-time Blockade Minister hang their heads.

IN BESTOWING upon the inhabitants of Santo Domingo the benefits of modern hygiene our military officials there recently turned their attention to the sale of bread and rolls and decreed that "each roll shall be wrapped in paper." The Dominicans could not seem to get it through their heads that it was better to pay twenty cents for a dozen rolls with the privilege of having them neatly done up in twelve separate packages than fifteen cents for twelve rolls in one paper bag. Their newspapers protested that it was not done in the rest of the world, that the baker would have to handle the rolls anyway if he wrapped them up, and that people were too poor to pay the extra price. Not content with that, they said that when our Department of Sanitation turned its attention to keeping the streets clean, collecting the rubbish, providing an adequate water supply, putting in pavements and sidewalks, and installing a drainage system, then it would be time enough to talk about wrapping rolls in separate pieces of oiled paper. Now, how can a poor American marine, sent out to teach democracy to the heathen, reason with people like that?

WILL THE BICYCLE ever win back its popularity in America? Its merits are as great today as ever; changing fashion rather than the automobile or the motorcycle is responsible for its near-disappearance. Neither the automobile nor the motorcycle does, or can, take its place. Not only is it less expensive than they, but one can use it in places and ways to which the other two are not adapted; it is not merely a means of transit but an exercise and a sport. The bicycle in America is now ridden mostly by boys; women have abandoned it almost entirely. Hope of its return to some of its old popularity is to be found in its use abroad. In Europe it never had either the remarkable vogue or the great slump that has been its history here, and recent statistics in England indicate that it still holds its own. A census of road traffic there last summer showed that bicycles constituted from one-fifth to three-fifths of all vehicles.

MICE AND GUINEA PIGS, exposed for 188 days to the exhaust gas from an engine in which lead tetra-ethyl gasoline was burned, showed no evidence of the poisoning which certain experts had predicted as the probable result of the common use of this new motor fuel. According to the United States Bureau of Mines, which conducted a series of experiments at Pittsburgh, the presence of the lead tetra-ethyl in the gasoline does not add any appreciable hazard to the exhaust gas discharged by an engine; it is commonly known that even ordinary exhaust gas breathed in a closed garage is dangerous, as a result of the carbon dioxide which it contains. The important question remains, however, as to the danger of handling the

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ethyl gasoline in liquid form. This might affect millions of motor-car owners and employees of garages and filling stations. Nor does this study touch at all on the known risks in the manufacture of the concentrated lead tetraethyl which killed five men at the Standard Oil plant at Bayonne several weeks ago, as reported by Mary Ross in *The Nation* for November 26. The former question is under investigation by experts connected with research departments of Columbia University; until it is answered on the basis of careful and authoritative experience the new fuel must be regarded as potentially dangerous. And until the problem of safeguarding the workers who make it from the menace of such horrible deaths as have claimed several of their number is solved, no civilized community can count as a gain this application of science to commerce.

SURFEITED THOUGH NEW YORK IS with musical geniuses, it was thrilled by the conducting of the Philharmonic by Wilhelm Furtwaengler. The successor of the great Arthur Nikisch as conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig came almost unheralded, but he at once achieved an almost unprecedented success. Even his orchestra on one occasion refused to share with him the cheers of the audience, but instead joined in the ovation. Such rare skill in conducting, such power and musicianship have not been seen in New York since the days of Seidl and of Nikisch. Dr. Furtwaengler seems to have even greater force than Nikisch. Certainly in his rendering of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony and the Handel D minor concerto grosso he worked wonders with his orchestra, achieving extraordinary tonal effects with the most delicate shading imaginable. It would be good fortune for all America if the directors of the Philharmonic should secure this gifted man as the permanent conductor of their orchestra, which, since the retirement of Josef Stransky, has languished under Mr. Van Hoogstraten. It is a pleasant episode in international relations to see capacity American audiences cheering a great German.

JANUARY THAWS send the green tips of skunk-cabbage cowls poking their way through the mud of fresh-water swamps in the latitude of New York, and a prolonged warm spell will bring the strange ill-smelling spathes into flower. February thaws bring them into bloom about Boston; Washington rovers sometimes find the unnatural plant prematurely a-blossom in December. When violets peep out of their buds on the hillsides the skunk cabbage blooms in the swamps below will be already withered, and the sturdy roots will be producing the huge green leaves which hide the ground through the summer. The *Journal of Heredity* recounts the amazing discoveries of a botanist who has been studying these roots. Each year the plant sends out new rootlets, and each year these contract, pulling the rootstalk further beneath the surface. While other plants are growing up into the air the skunk cabbage is growing down into the soil. As this process continues the tip of the rootstalk naturally becomes worn, but even so occasional plants preserve the traces of seventy years of continuous growth, and it seems probable that some of them may have been growing in their present locations when Columbus discovered America. Anyone may turn his eyes to California and marvel at a towering redwood; it took a scientist to find an almost equal marvel in our Eastern swamps.

Christian Missionaries

TOO often blood and business have followed roads blazed by heroic missionaries, and criticisms and suspicion of the pioneer preachers has naturally followed. A group of twenty-five American missionaries in China, however, has recently expressed its Christianity in new and thrilling terms. To the American Minister at Peking, Mr. Jacob Gould Schurman, they sent the following truly magnificent declaration:

> The undersigned, American missionaries, are in China as messengers of the gospel of brotherhood and peace. Our task is to lead men and women into a new life in Christ which promotes brotherhood and takes away all occasion of wars. We therefore express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, especially no foreign military force, be exerted to protect us or our property; and that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands, no money be paid for our release, no punitive expeditions be sent out, and no indemnities be exacted. We take this stand believing that the way to establish righteousness and peace is through bringing the spirit of personal good-will to bear on all persons under all circumstances, even through suffering wrong without retaliation. This is what we understand the example of Jesus Christ to mean.
>
> We wish to be clear that we have no authority to speak for our missions or churches, and sign simply in our individual capacity.

There, indeed, was a lesson in Christianity, and we wish we could publish the names of these heroes and ask aid for such apostles. Of them we know only this: that they came from different provinces and different churches, and that the two names signed to the covering letter to the American Minister were those of Robert E. Chandler and Harold S. Matthews. A paragraph from that covering letter also demands quotation:

> We appreciate the fairness and justice which have generally characterized American policy toward China. In spite of the enormous difficulties, we expect further advance toward reciprocity in all lines. We expect America to hold the lead in this advance. We do not care for the "firmness" which some are advocating; we do not care for gunboats on the Yangtze.

And what did the American Minister reply to these men who petitioned him to permit them to put their Christianity into practice? For that we have to rely on an Associated Press dispatch, which reports:

> The American Legation pointed out that the petition was inconsistent with the necessity that exists for safeguarding Americans in China, and that no exception could or would be made in the procedure in emergencies with regard to the signers of the petition.

Whatever the missionaries wished, the American Minister did not intend any Chinese to make the mistake of thinking that the United States was a Christian nation. We admire those twenty-five missionaries, but they need not have gone so far from home in the search for mission fields. One reason for their attitude, they say, is that the Chinese Christian church has suffered from connection with foreign missionaries and the foreign military forces behind them. Perhaps as a next step they will petition the Chinese Christian church to send a band of missionaries to establish a mission chapel and preach Christianity at the doors of the State Department in Washington.

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Canals and the People

GOVERNOR SMITH revived a discussion of first-rate importance in his recent message to the New York Legislature by raising the question of the State canal system and calling for a commission to study the subject. Why is it that Europe is netted with canals which perform a fundamental service while America has only a few scratches of inland waterways and they have met with the meagerest success?

In the last twenty years New York has built or rebuilt a modern system known as the Barge Canal at an expense of $230,000,000 for construction, operation, and interest. The estimates for operation and improvements in 1925 exceed five millions. All this is an out-of-pocket expenditure on the part of the State, since it charges no tolls. It maintains its canals like its roads as free ways. Naturally, therefore, it wants assurance that the public benefits are equal to the tax bills. Governor Smith's recommendation for a commission to study the Barge Canal with a view to developing further usefulness is excellent, but the figures he gives in regard to its traffic are unduly pessimistic. Going back to the heydey of the old Erie Canal Governor Smith finds that for the six years just previous to the abolition of tolls, 1877-1882, the traffic averaged 5,434,474 tons annually. He then notes that the Barge Canal, although designed to carry four times as much as its predecessor, has had an average traffic of only 1,640,481 tons annually for the first six full years of operation, 1919-1924. Governor Smith does not explain that between 1882 and 1919 business on the old Erie waterway had gone to pieces, nor does he mention the highly significant fact that traffic on the new route has made an annual gain each year since 1919, approximating 100 per cent.

The Barge Canal—which is short for 1,000-ton-barge canal—consists of four routes: the new Erie Canal, which virtually coincides with the old waterway of that name from the Hudson River opposite Troy to Buffalo; a waterway joining the Hudson with Lake Champlain to the north; a spur from the Erie Canal connecting it with Lake Ontario at Oswego; and the Cayuga-Seneca branch. The Erie Canal is the main artery, and in 1924 carried 1,691,766 tons of the total of 2,032,317 transported over the entire system. The steady growth of business on the Erie Canal since 1919 is evident from the following statistics of its traffic: 1919, 842,164 tons; 1920, 891,221 tons; 1921, 993,639 tons; 1922, 1,485,109 tons; 1923, 1,626,062 tons; 1924, 1,691,766 tons. Moreover, lack of traffic is not due to an absence of cargoes but, by general testimony, to a shortage of boats. Governor Smith said so himself in his message to the legislature two years ago and the State Engineer confirms the statement in 1925. Shippers in New York City complain that one of the reasons for a shortage of boats is the failure to maintain the Barge Canal at its theoretical depth of twelve feet while another is doubt about the State's policy. Both of these considerations have made business wary of putting capital into boats. The old-time low-powered canal boat, it should be understood, has largely disappeared. The Barge Canal opens a through route by way of the Hudson River from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. The present tendency, therefore, is toward a boat sufficiently large and powerful to traverse the Great Lakes and at least the more protected parts of the Atlantic seaboard.

The experience of New York with its Barge Canal is well worth the examination of the entire country because the undertaking is essentially a national one. Actually this great waterway brings the Atlantic seaboard inland as far as Duluth, although of course only for a limited type of vessel. For many years before its construction an argument raged between the advocates of a waterway of the present sort and a ship canal wide and deep enough for ocean-going vessels. The latter project, it was estimated, would have cost about four times as much. It was argued also that the benefits of a ship canal over a barge waterway would accrue almost entirely to through commerce between the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean, from which the State of New York would profit only slightly while bearing all the expense. So New York decided to leave a ship waterway to the Federal Government should there be sufficient pressure of public opinion to bring it about. The agitation in the Middle West to get the United States to join with Canada in the construction of a St. Lawrence ship canal has revived interest in the possibilities of a deep-water route within our own borders. Since Governor Smith's message, Colonel Frederick Stuart Greene, head of the Department of Public Works—which operates the canal—has come out in favor of asking the federal Government to take over the waterway. He suggests also that the Erie Canal between Syracuse and Buffalo be abandoned and that all traffic go by way of the Oswego branch and Lake Ontario. (The Welland Canal furnishes a link between Lake Ontario and the bodies of water further west.) If the federal Government should step in, there would certainly be a demand to deepen the canal and the Hudson River for the accommodation of ocean-going steamships.

This may be a project for the future, but the immediate job is to make the Barge Canal an undisputed success before proposing to replace it with a costlier and even more problematic waterway. New York State, both through experience and self-interest, has a greater likelihood of achieving such a success than the federal Government. It is true that much of the present traffic is through commerce of little benefit to any of the State except New York City, but it is equally sure that the route of the Barge Canal will be an ideal site for hundreds of industrial enterprises once a proper utilization of the waterway is arrived at.

The sorry fact is that in America inland waterways have been fought bitterly and successfully by the railroads, whereas in Europe, where the railroads are largely under government control, they have been linked with the canals. In this country the railways have either prevented the improvement of canals or have subjected them to cut-throat competition. They have also refused them the benefit of through routings. Even where railroad influence has not been felt, canals have suffered in this country from the inertia and indifference of business. It is easier for the average American business man to pass on expensive transportation to the consumer than to grapple with the difficulties of a cheaper transit. Even in England it was found more difficult to divert traffic to the now successful Manchester ship canal than to finance or build it. Likewise with the Barge Canal. The waterway is there. Cargoes are everywhere. The job is to bring the two together.

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The Paris Settlement

SECRETARY HUGHES is to be congratulated upon his maintenance, at the recent Paris financial conference, of the American demand for participation in the Dawes reparation annuities. The British opposition against which he had to contend was motivated not by the trifling contingent money sacrifice that Britain would make but by the far more important consideration that if the United States were denied Dawes bonds it might be forced to confiscate sequestrated German private property in order to pay the American claims, and thus place itself in the same sorry predicament in which England finds herself, having sold her reputation for financial integrity by confiscating privately owned enemy property.

We had two large claims to settle at Paris—the Rhine-army costs and the claims of American citizens arising out of war damages. The former, amounting to $255,000,000, represents the cost of maintaining our army on the Rhine from the armistice until its withdrawal. This sum had been paid by Germany to the Reparation Commission as part of the billion dollars or so paid for the upkeep of all the occupying armies. But in distributing the billion, the Allies "overlooked" the United States and calmly pocketed our share. When we finally asked for it the Allies informed us that they had already spent it and that we might ask Germany for it again. That we practically did, for in the Wadsworth Agreement of 1923 we agreed to accept priority payment in twelve annual instalments out of a percentage of future payments to be made by Germany. This agreement we surrendered at Paris in order to obtain recognition of our pecuniary war claims. Instead of receiving on the Rhine-army account nearly 90 million marks annually, not counting arrears, our payment has been reduced to 55 million marks annually, beginning September 1, 1926, payable over a period of about twenty-two years. Interest is sacrificed. Winston Churchill, who fought hard to prevent the recognition of the American pecuniary claims, regards this reduction as a great advantage for the Allies, for, even with the percentage we are to receive to discharge the war claims, the total under both heads for the next twelve years will be less than we would have received under the Wadsworth Agreement alone.

The item of pecuniary war claims, now being settled by the Mixed Claims Commission, was estimated at $350,000,000. It will hardly be that much, unless interest for many years hence is included. Excluding about $50,000,000 for government ships sunk, the private claims will probably come to about $200,000,000. Under this head we are to receive 2¼ per cent of Germany's annuity payments, not exceeding 45 million marks in any one year.

What price have we paid for this admission of our small claims, which may be compared with the British and French indemnities and territorial and economic conquests? The European press suggests that the United States is now committed with the Allies to making war on Germany whenever the Dawes Plan breaks down. This, however, is not 1917 or 1918, and it is to be hoped that we have learned our lesson. The United States has consented only to receive payments as and when made, and has, the President and Mr. Hughes have made clear, no intention to collect debts by force of arms. If the Dawes Plan breaks down, the reason is likely to be that France and England do not want Germany to build up that surplus of exports without which the plan is admittedly doomed. The plan presupposes a politically and economically healthy Germany, and there is little evidence that France or Tory England intends to permit Germany to recover normal health. If Americans understand this, they will realize that their conflict of interest is not with Germany.

For the United States the settlement affords an opportunity to liquidate some of the most unhappy legacies of the war. It brings the occasion for the return of the sequestrated private property, which, contrary to a profound American tradition, has been kept from its owners these six years. Compensation should be made for the dissipation of this property by the gross violations of the principle of trusteeship perpetrated by Messrs. Palmer and Garvan as alien property custodians. Secretary Hughes should liquidate these problems before his retirement, and make doubly sure that we are not pledged to more than we know.

How to Insure Old Age

DOES anyone wish a prescription for longevity? We know it and are ready to offer it. It is not a Brown-Séquard liquid or a monkey gland, or abstention from drink and tobacco. Would you live long—far beyond the scriptural threescore and ten? Then get yourself a pension from the government. An ordinary pension from a railroad or a corporation or an insurance company will not do. It must be from the government. Apparently if you get governmental support the absolute security—at least it was absolute security until the World War showed how easily governments could topple and pensions fade away with them—of the source of your income gives you such peace and quiet and contentment that you forego all nerve strain and take life so placidly that man's final enemy postpones his approach.

We are fortified in this opinion by a perusal of the annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions in Washington. Who would believe that we are still paying pensions as a result of the War of 1812? In July last there were still living thirty-three women supported in part by the government because they were widows of men who fought in the war that ended 110 years ago. Of course, they married early in life some pensioned veteran who then was late in life. But the government cares not for that. As long as your husband shouldered a musket in the War of 1812 it does not matter whether you married him when he was seventy or eighty or ninety or one hundred. The thirty-three women are drawing $30 a month and they are scattered all over the country. It is only twenty years ago that the last male survivor of the War of 1812, Hiram Cronk, of Ava, New York, died at the age of 105 years and sixteen days. We don't recall anything about his habits, but it must have been his pension that did it. At that he had four and a half years less of life than the last survivor of the Revolutionary War, who lived until April 5, 1869. The last widow-pensioner of the Revolution left this mundane sphere on November 11, 1906, at the tender age of ninety-two.

As for the other survivors of our wars, the commissioner reports that he still pays 146,815 soldier pensioners from the Civil War and 253,136 dependents, with 6,359 claims for new pensions pending. Thus approximately 400,000 pensioners receive money because of a war which

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ended fifty-nine years ago, the youngest soldier in which is now seventy-eight and a half years old. He enlisted when he was fourteen and a half years old. Our war with Spain was a tiny struggle, with but insignificant forces judged by World War standards, but we are already pensioning 101,142 of its soldiers and their widows, with 23,542 claims pending on June 30, 1924. In the twelve months before that date no less than 17,000 additional Spanish War veterans were placed on the pension rolls. There are also 22,682 widows and veterans of our Indian wars and our regular army on the lists. As for the World War, we have only just begun there, for we have only seventy-eight pensioners as yet from that gigantic struggle; it will be remembered that through the soldier-insurance and direct-disability payments the effort was made to prevent the building up of another pension roll in the good old fashion.

That was an admirable ambition, but we do not believe that it will be realized. As time passes, and the memory of the bonuses, State and national, fades away, there will be a greater and greater demand for the old-fashioned, straight-out pension. England's pension bureau thinks it will be through taking care of its war widows and orphans at the expiration of thirty-eight more years. Apparently their climate is different from ours, or perhaps their pensions are of a different grade and quality from ours, and so do not produce similar longevity. Or they may have a dead-line controlling the age at which the veteran may marry with the right to get his widow on the pension roll.

So if the Commissioner of Pensions has any fears that his department may go out of business because of the rapid decrease of Civil War veterans—23,000 died in 1923-24—we would reassure him. The President has just signed an omnibus pension bill calling for millions of dollars in pensions to people who could not legitimately file their claims under existing statutes, including one of $5,000 for Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. The Pension Bureau may shrink for a while, but it will be with us when most of us pensionless *ones are prematurely gathered to our fathers.*

Of Eclipses

WHEN, on January 24, the shadow of the moon sweeps across Manhattan, three-fourths of the inhabitants will congratulate themselves upon what "we" know about eclipses. Yet in fact not one in a thousand knows a single important fact about eclipses which was not known to a well-informed Roman of nearly two thousand years ago. A few patient and laborious scientists who have mastered the intricacies of celestial mechanics can predict with an accuracy unknown before the exact instant at which the eclipse will occur and in exactly what areas it will be visible; the average citizen knows only that the moon comes between him and the sun and that this is a periodic occurrence. Pliny knew that much, but of all the knowledge gained since that time only an exceedingly small part is comprehensible to the untrained man. Aristotle suggested that the circular shadow cast by the earth during a lunar eclipse signified that the earth was round, and that is an observation quite beyond the present-day man who is sure that he lives upon a sphere without being able to give one good reason for his conviction.

The eclipse has surrendered its mysteries step by step during a period which embraces several millenniums. Almost at the dawn of history the Chaldeans were familiar with the cycle of eclipses though their knowledge was largely empiric and the fact that corresponding eclipses of the sun are not visible over corresponding areas baffled them completely. The Greeks discovered the cause of the obscuration of sun or moon, and (in the second century B. C.) Hipparchus, though he worked upon a geocentric theory, studied so carefully the moon's orbit that he was able to increase the accuracy of his prediction until he could tell the hour in which an eclipse would occur. Johann Kepler made the next great advance in this direction some eighteen hundred years later, and it is now, of course, only a matter of routine calculation to determine the very moment of an eclipse.

In ancient as in modern times the knowledge of the mass lagged centuries behind the knowledge of the few. Pliny knew what the average man knows today, but in his time his was the unusual knowledge. Superstition gave ground slowly, and though he could speak of the earth's shadow upon the sun the Athenians a few centuries earlier regarded similar talk on the part of Anaxagoras as blasphemous. Plutarch tells of a woman of Thessaly who gained great fame among her people because she could, by her incantations, remove the moon from the sky—a feat which doubtless she never undertook to perform except when she knew that an eclipse was about to take place—and Herodotus recounts how in the midst of a battle the Lydians and the Medes were so frightened by a darkening of the sun that they stopped fighting at once and quickly arranged a peace which was cemented by a royal marriage. The Athenian general Nicias lost a battle because he heeded the common warning that eclipses brought bad luck; but Plutarch, in speaking of him, had come to the point where he could say that though there is nothing terrible in seeing the sun darkened by the shadow of the moon there is something terrible in seeing the mind of Nicias darkened by superstition.

As one might expect, the Middle Ages developed most elaborately the magical lore of eclipses. Thomas Aquinas is at pains to remark that they seem supernatural only to the ignorant, but Saint Thomas was an unusual man and one may read of strange things in the works of learned magicians. Eclipses of the sun were considered the most terrible, and they might be expected, so we learn from Peter of Albano, to produce various strange effects, such as sterility of the soil, increased activity among both good and bad demons, and intercourse of incubi and succubi, as well as a general weakening of human nature with an accompanying increase of avarice and cupidity. During lunar eclipses, another medieval writer informs us, a gem called glossopetra, which has the form of a human tongue and possesses magical properties, falls upon the earth.

By what slow stages the average man came to be as rational as Pliny or Plutarch or Thomas Aquinas it would be difficult to say, but the process must have been a slow one and may not yet have been completed. As late as the middle of the seventeenth century Sir Thomas Browne includes belief in the supernatural influence of eclipses among his "Vulgar Errors" and remarks in his rotund manner: "To behold a rainbow in the night is no prodigy unto a philosopher. Than eclipses of sun or moon, nothing is more natural; yet with what superstition they have been beheld since the tragedy of Nicias and his army, many examples display."

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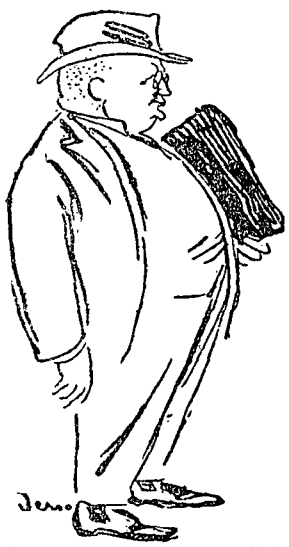
Reaction in Germany

By ROBERT DELL

(The Nation's *Special Correspondent in Germany*)

[*Since Mr. Dell mailed this article in Berlin the cables have confirmed his prophecy. Dr. Stresemann's intrigue has succeeded, and the Republic of Germany has for the first time a frankly reactionary Government. Dr. Luther, Minister of Finance in the Cuno Cabinet, becomes Prime Minister; and the remainder of the Cabinet consists of four Nationalists, a member of the Bavarian People's Party, four Centrists, and one Democrat. If the Democrats and Centrists unanimously support this Coalition of the Right it will have 303 votes in a Reichstag of 493 members. Among the Nationalist members is one who has refused to swear allegiance to the Republic.*—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Berlin, December 28



From the *Tagebuch* (Berlin)

Dr. Luther, Germany's new Chancellor

THREE weeks after the German general election its unsatisfactory character is clearer than ever. In the new Reichstag, as in that elected last May, neither the parties of the Left nor those of the Right have a majority, and there is not even a majority for what is called the "Weimar Coalition" of Center, Socialists, and Democrats, which formed the Government for nearly three years. The only change is that the Republican parties are slightly stronger than in the May Reichstag. In May the parties of the Left numbered 190 (100 Socialists, 62 Communists, and 28 Democrats), and the Center 65. Now there are 208 members on the Left (131 Socialists, 45 Communists, and 32 Democrats) and 69 belonging to the Center. On the other hand, the parties of the Right together have lost only one seat, having 216 members instead of 217. The total membership of the Reichstag has been increased from 472 to 493, because there were in round figures 900,000 more voters than in May. As before, no Government can be formed without the Center and, as before, the Center—at present—refuses to join a coalition either with the parties of the Left or with those of the Right. The Center wants to revive the "Big Coalition" (of Center, Socialists, Democrats, and German People's Party) which formed the Government, from August to December, 1923, in which Dr. Stresemann was Chancellor. Dr. Stresemann and his party now, however, refuse to join a "Big Coalition" and insist, as before the election, on a Government including the German Nationalists, which means a reactionary coalition of the Center and the Right.

Not only have the parties of the Right held their own, they have also consolidated their position. Its extremist Fascist wing has been reduced from 36 to 22, but they are so silly that they were a thorn in the side of the German Nationalists, who are really dangerous. In the May Reichstag the Fascists, like the Communists, were in permanent opposition and a coalition Government of the Center and the Right could by no means have counted on their support. Humbled by defeat, they are now ready to support such a coalition—indeed it is probable that before long they will amalgamate with the German Nationalists. Since Center and Right together would have a clear majority of 78, the formation of such a coalition Government is only too probable. The Catholic industrial magnates are in favor of it, although Dr. Marx and Dr. Wirth are opposed. The fact that the Center has voted unanimously against such a coalition is no guaranty that it will stick to its guns—before the election it voted against the inclusion of the German Nationalists in the Government one morning and in favor of it the same afternoon. For the Center to enter a coalition with the monarchist Right would be a betrayal of the electors (it fought the election definitely as a Republican Party) and a repudiation of the policy of the Marx Cabinet, but that does not make it at all impossible.

For this deplorable situation the cowardice of the Socialist and Democratic leaders is greatly responsible. Plainly, as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* said, the right policy for the Socialists and Democrats was to checkmate Dr. Stresemann's intrigues by taking the initiative immediately after the election. Had they at once proposed the revival of the "Weimar Coalition," they could probably have rushed the Center into it. Such a Government would have had no majority, unless the 45 Communists abstained from voting against it, and their benevolent neutrality might have been secured by the release of the political prisoners of all parties, of whom there are about 7,000. But the Socialist leaders did not even hold a meeting of the party in the Reichstag until December 18, and, meanwhile, they had pledged their party without its consent to the "Big Coalition." The "Big Coalition" is detested by the great majority of the working class and Socialist participation in it would benefit both the Communists and the German Nationalists, as it did last May. That is why the German People's Party, which lost heavily to the German Nationalists in May, refused to have any more to do with the "Big Coalition."

Ludendorff, Leader of the Fascisti

The extraordinary decision to postpone the formation of a new Government until January was probably due to the desire of the German Nationalists to have the questions of the League of Nations and the Cologne occupation settled before they joined the Government. This hypothesis is supported by the note to the League of Nations, which in effect shelves the question of Germany joining the League, for it can be answered only by the Assembly of the League, which will not meet until September. Moreover, the Ger-

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man demand to be exempt from the obligation of Article 16 of the Covenant involves an amendment of the latter, which requires ratification and would probably take about two years. The note was superfluous, unless it was intended to have this effect, for it merely repeated what the German Government had already said privately to the Powers represented on the Council of the League, all of whom replied favorably on the questions of giving Germany a permanent seat on the Council and not raising difficulties about her fulfilment of her treaty obligations. The conduct of the German Government, which has resigned and is merely holding on to transact routine business, in taking a step of this kind on an important question of policy, was a flagrant breach of constitutional usage.

It must be said that the English and French governments are doing much to make reaction in Germany successful. The change of government in England has had a more disastrous effect on the European situation than I could ever have believed possible in so short a time. In three months the hopes of peace that were raised at Geneva seem to have been shattered. The evident hostility of the new English Government to the Geneva Protocol and indeed to the principle of arbitration, which it has flouted in the case of Egypt, is a sinister omen. The brutal imperialism of the ultimatum to Egypt, recalling that of Austria to Serbia in 1914, has been hailed by the German Nationalists as an example for every country to follow, and has encouraged the supporters of the thesis that Germany's only hope is in the restoration of her military power.

Now the English and French governments are playing into the hands of the German Nationalists by the postponement of the Cologne evacuation. Everybody in Germany knows that the real reason of the postponement is that evacuation of the Cologne district would require evacuation of the Ruhr. The wise course would have been to propose a compromise to the German Government by which Cologne would have been evacuated, say, in April, and the Ruhr at the same time. Such a compromise, which would have shortened the military occupation of the Ruhr by four months, might have been accepted. If it be true, as reported, that the English Government wished to propose such a compromise some weeks ago and the French Government refused, the latter is to blame. The date for the joint evacuation of Cologne and the Ruhr suggested by the English Government is said to have been May 10.

If, as seems now to be the case, the occupation of Cologne is to be prolonged as a "sanction," the effect on German opinion, even if the occupation of the Ruhr be also shortened, will be disastrous. One would have thought that the futility of the policy of "sanctions" had been sufficiently demonstrated. When at last the Entente Powers consented to come to an agreement with Germany about reparations, something approaching a solution was found. The question of military control must be solved in the same way. Effective military control is impossible without the good-will of the German Government. That is shown by the fact that the control was for all practical purposes suspended for nearly two years because the German Government refused to give facilities for it after the occupation of the Ruhr.

It is true that the military commission has met with obstruction organized by the officers of the Reichswehr which has prevented it from making a complete inquiry. It is clear that certain breaches of the disarmament provisions of the treaty have been committed. It is also clear that General von Seeckt has kept the promise that he made when he took the command of the Reichswehr "to form, not a little professional army, but leaders for the people in the moment of danger." The Reichswehr is, in fact, an officers' training corps—every private in it is taught to command. The Government has winked at the formation of illegal armed organizations—the "Black Reichswehr"—whose members have in many cases been given military training in Reichswehr camps. Disbanded regiments are kept together as far as possible by forming such members of them as are willing into associations in close touch with the Reichswehr. That General von Seeckt is looking to a war of revenge in the future can hardly be doubted. The Government is responsible, for it has refused to interfere and has even prosecuted Germans for telling the truth about the matter. Dr. Zeigner, formerly Prime Minister of Saxony, is awaiting his trial for high treason for having revealed to "enemy Powers" the connection of the illegal armed organizations with the Reichswehr in a speech in the Saxon Landtag. The truth of his statements is not denied. On the contrary, his prosecution is based on the assumption that they were true, for otherwise no charge of treason could by German law be made against him.

German Republicans, and the working class in particular, wish the disarmament of Germany to continue. They know that General von Seeckt, the Reichswehr, and the illegal armed organizations are a much greater danger to the German Republic than to any foreign Power. Most of the discoveries of secret arms made by the Military Commission of Control have been due to information given by German workmen. The younger generations have grown up and are growing up without military training and will never willingly consent to the restoration of conscription.

Nevertheless, Germany is not at this moment in a position to make war, and is as effectively disarmed, with trifling exceptions, as she ever can be. No country with a great metallurgical industry can be permanently disarmed. There is only one way of making it impossible for Germany ever to go to war again—that of destroying German industry. No doubt, as the *Temps* says, Germany could prepare for war in a comparatively short time if she were allowed, but she would have to do what England did in 1914—divert the greater part of her factories to the manufacture of munitions, and she could not possibly do that secretly. Since it is, presumably, not proposed to destroy German industry, the only way to prevent Germany being a danger in the future is to adopt a policy that will strengthen the friends of peace and reconciliation who, as the election showed, are still the majority. The continued occupation of Cologne has the opposite effect.

The moral disarmament of Germany is the only real security for France and it will never be obtained by threats and "sanctions." Prolongation of the occupation of Cologne without the consent of the German Government is likely to put the German Nationalists in power. They are threatening economic reprisals for the continued occupation of Cologne and they are quite capable of wrecking the Dawes Plan, which can work only with the sincere cooperation of the German Government. The Cologne policy of the Entente Powers may put us back in the situation before the London Conference, destroy all the results—necessarily only partial—achieved by the policy of MacDonald and Herriot, and ruin the hopes of permanent peace.

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What Is a Race?

By FRANZ BOAS

THE intensity of race consciousness in our country is not entirely due to the presence in large numbers of various non-European races, for even a hasty review of the attitude of many European nations reveals a phenomenal growth of the feeling of racial antagonisms. The belief in organic difference between the European and the Negro or the European and the Chinese has come to appear as so fundamental that social and political relations are determined by it. We no longer demand any careful examination of the reasons for the feeling of difference, but accept it as an instinctive, unavoidable effect of the contact of different races.

This article is the first of a series on The Nordic Myth. It will be followed by discussions of the question of race superiority and of race relations by Edward Sapir of the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa, A. A. Goldenweiser and Melville J. Herskovits of the New School of Social Research, Manuel Ugarte, Argentine writer; Hendrik van Loon, and others.

The theory that mental traits are determined by race is old. In earlier times it was not clearly differentiated from the assumption of an immediate influence of environment upon body and mind. In the eighteenth century we hear of the belief that the type represented by the nobility is organically superior to the type represented by the commoners. In the nineteenth century the theory of the racial determination of mental traits made rapid headway. It was a convenient prop for supporting slavery and was, therefore, used as the strongest argument against the aims of the Abolitionists. But aside from this students of the history of civilization became impressed with the evident differences of mental behavior in large divisions of mankind. Gustav Klemm in his "Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit" discusses at length the aptitudes of different racial types. Carus tried to explain the history of nations on the basis of their organic character, but the whole problem received its principal impetus by the publication of Comte de Gobineau's "L'Inégalité des Races Humaines." In the course of time the arguments by which he tried to prove the superiority of the blond North European type over all other European groups made a deep impression, and since that time the conviction has grown apace that fundamental, organically determined psychical differences exist between human races and even between closely allied groups. It is only necessary to mention books like Stewart Houston Chamberlain's "Foundations of Nineteenth Century Civilization," or those of Woltmann, Lapouge, or Hans Günther, and in our own country the much-read propaganda by Madison Grant, "The Passing of the Great Race," to indicate the general character of the growth of this movement.

On the other hand an equally voluminous literature has developed, intended to maintain the irrelevancy of racial affiliation in cultural and mental life. Much of this literature is due to an effort to combat the anti-Semitic drift of our times.

Quite aside from this discussion certain ethnologists have based their work on the assumption of an essential sameness of the mental life of all races. Inquiries into the development of civilization like those of Theodor Waitz, E. B. Tylor, Herbert Spencer, or Adolf Bastian were conducted without any regard to racial affiliations, but dealt with mankind as a whole and emphasize the unity of mental behavior of man.

Whatever the outcome of scientific discussion may be the existence of racial antagonisms among ourselves cannot be denied. The inquiry should be directed toward an investigation of the conditions under which they have grown up and of the soundness of the arguments supporting racial discrimination.

It is generally assumed that race consciousness and race antagonisms are instinctive, that is to say, organically determined. It is fairly obvious that for individuals this rule does not hold good. The numerous cases of racial mixture between whites and all other races show clearly that there is no fundamental racial antipathy that would prevent the closest and most intimate relations between individuals of the most diverse races. Furthermore it is important to note that race antagonism is not by any means a universal trait of mankind. While it is very pronounced among Anglo-Saxons, it is weak among most of the people of Romance tongue. The present French policy of treating the African Negroes as Frenchmen has for its basis a theoretical denial of essential racial differences and is possible only on account of the lack of a strong, widespread feeling of race antagonism. The weakness of race consciousness among people speaking Romance languages is shown also by the social conditions in many South American countries.

Still more striking is the attitude of Mohammedans, among whom racial affiliations count very little as against religious unity. A convincing proof of this attitude in early times is the description of inter-racial relations in Arabian literature. A study of the behavior of children shows also that while a consciousness of race difference may be present, it does not include necessarily any feeling of racial antagonism. As the child grows up the dividing line between the races is impressed upon it and in this way the race consciousness develops until it becomes a purely automatic reaction which evokes the same intensity of feeling as the so-called instinctive reactions. Nevertheless the two are fundamentally distinct. If racial antagonism were instinctive it would appear among all members of mankind, not necessarily in earliest youth, but certainly at the time of adolescence. If, on the other hand, it is a behavior that is developed as a social pattern it will be present only where this pattern prevails and will become more automatic and therefore emotionally stronger the more pronounced the social pattern. It is also instructive to see that in the castes of India the same kind of antagonism and feeling of repugnance develops without being everywhere founded on racial differences.

Numerous attempts have been made to give a scientific status to the feeling of racial difference and particularly to the claim of Nordic superiority. In these attempts use is

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made of historical data, of descriptions of national character and of psychological tests to which individuals of different races have been subjected. In none of these discussions, however, do we find a concise and definite answer to the question of what constitutes a race.

Unfortunately the concept of race is not at all clear. The terminology adopted by our immigration authorities has added greatly to the confusion because they designate people speaking different languages and of different political association as races without any regard to their biological characteristics.

When we speak of innate characteristics of races we mean by the term race a group of people descended from a common ancestry and for this reason alike in anatomical form. Likeness does not mean identity. In no species or variety of animals or plants are all individuals strictly of the same form. Differences in size and form are ever present and variability within certain limits is one of the prime characteristics of organic nature. Individuals of the same variety are not identical and a variety derived from the same ancestry will always embrace many distinctive individual forms. A whole racial group can never be described by a few descriptive terms, because there will always be many individuals of deviating types. It is our impression that the Swede is blond, blue eyed, tall, and longheaded; but many Swedes do not conform to this description.

When these variations are sufficiently pronounced we are very much inclined to consider the extreme variants as types of which the population is composed and to believe that the rather indifferent but frequent middle group originates from an intermixture of the two extreme types. When practical questions are involved this view is useful. The physician who distinguishes between the asthenic and eusthenic type or between other constitutional types is confronted by a practical problem. His classification of types does not imply that the individuals of different constitution are distinct types which intermingled and from which the middle type of indifferent constitution developed. In the same way the occurrence of long heads and short heads in Sweden does not prove by itself that we *must* have a mixture of two fundamental types. The extreme forms may as well be interpreted as variants of a single ancestral type.

On the other hand extensive migrations have occurred since very early times the world over and mixtures of distinct types have been common. The period of isolation in which the differentiation of local types developed must lie in a very remote time. The present conditions show gradual transitions between types inhabiting adjoining areas, due largely to intermixture. Local types exhibit everywhere similar degrees of variability, so that it is difficult if not impossible to determine the characteristics of the earlier purer types that developed by isolation.

Unless the component races are fundamentally distinct, the attempt to isolate in an old stable population distinctive racial types determined by descriptive characteristics is, therefore, an almost insoluble task. We cannot assign one individual to one race, another to another, because we do not know the degree of variability found in the ancestral isolated race, and on account of the long-continued mixture the characteristics of the parental races will appear in varying combinations in each individual. All attempts to establish among members of the same social group correlations between mental character and bodily form have failed.

When we speak of racial heredity we mean certain characteristics in which all members of a race partake. The white skin-color of the European and the dark skin-color of the Negro are racial hereditary traits, because they belong to all the members of each race. On account of the great variability of forms fundamental differences between various races are not always found. Size and complexity of the brain, stature, head form, physiological functions and mental reactions vary enormously in each race, and many features that are found in one race are also found among individuals belonging to other races. Thus it happens that to judge by the size of his brain or by his physiological or mental functions an individual may as well belong to one race as to another. In such cases it is obviously impossible to speak of hereditary racial characteristics because the traits characterizing any individual occur in a number of human races.

The importance of this observation becomes still clearer when we consider the individuals not only as members of a race as a whole but as descendants of a certain ancestral group. The racial type is what is called by biologists a phenotype, that is to say, an assembly of individuals that belong to quite distinctive lines of descent. The phenotype, however, may be subdivided into a number of genotypes, or groups of individuals having a common ancestry. In other words, we must consider the whole race as constituted of a large number of family lines. When we have a population that has been inbred for a very long time, such as certain village communities in Europe or small isolated tribes of primitive people, the whole community may represent, more or less strictly speaking, one genotype, because they are all descended from the same ancestral group and every family line existing at the present time goes back to the same ancestry. We may note that even in these cases, so far as they have been investigated, the family lines are not by any means identical in type, but that considerable differences among them are found. Even long inbreeding does not produce an identity of family lines. Purity of type would entail a great similarity between different family lines and at the same time a great similarity between the brothers and sisters belonging to each family. As a matter of fact, great uniformity in either respect does not exist among any known group. Similarity of family strains is characteristic of inbred populations no matter what their ancestral composition may be, while great disparity of family lines is found in new populations of mixed origin such as are found in our modern cities or in countries with immigration drawn from a large area. Great similarity among brothers and sisters in each family is dependent upon the uniformity of the ancestry, but it is not necessarily connected with long-continued inbreeding. To give an example, the mulatto population of South Africa, descendants of Negroes and Dutch settlers, has developed largely by inbreeding. Therefore the family lines are alike, while the children of each family vary very much among themselves and exhibit a mixture of Negro and white traits.

A more detailed study of the constitution of a single race shows that its family lines vary considerably in anatomical and functional characteristics. The pigmentation of one family line may be quite distinct from that of another. Pathological traits appear in some strains of the population. Mental traits characteristic of certain family lines will not be shared by others.

When comparing different races it is found that the variability of the genotypes comprising each race is so great that a family line might find its proper place in sev-

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eral races. In other words, many hereditary characteristics are not racial in character, but must be assigned to genotypical lines, to family strains.

If this is true, it is clear that any generalized characterization of a race must be misleading. It may be possible to characterize family lines, but the assumption of general racial characteristics, anatomical, physiological, or mental, excepting those that belong to the race as a whole, is arbitrarily made.

The actual problem, therefore, from an objective standpoint, resolves itself into the question whether any characteristics, aside from purely anatomical ones, can be found that differentiate races so that they are common characteristics by which the racial position of all individuals and all family lines may be determined.

There is no doubt that social groups show essential differences in their appearance and their behavior, but this does not imply that these characteristics are hereditarily determined. Individuals of quite distinctive anatomical build adopt the same functional habits with great ease. We find among people speaking the same language the most diverse forms of articulating organs; but the mode of pronunciation depends upon anatomical conditions only in extreme cases. It is determined by the social environment in which the individual grows up. The characteristic motor tendencies of large divisions of mankind are also not determined by the special form of the skeleton and of the muscular system, but by historically determined motor habits. An example of this is the distribution of different methods of the use of bow and arrow which is characteristic of enormously wide areas. Proof of the socially determined character of mental reactions is also found in the difference in the behavior of a people in different periods. The descent of the Elizabethan English and the modern English is practically the same. Nevertheless the early free and easy-going life contrasts strongly with the social restrictions and prudery of the middle of the past century. So far as I can see, no convincing proof has ever been given of the hereditary character of complex functions that are found prevailing among a given people at the present time. We rather see that all racial strains, when subjected to the same social environment, develop the same functional tendencies. The plasticity of function is so great that it may overcome to a great extent the difference in organic form.

Nevertheless individual differences in function and family characteristics of function may very well exist and be recognized, but the variability of the family lines constituting each race will be found so great that in this case also we have no right to speak of racial hereditary traits.

The occurrence of hereditary mental traits that belong to a particular race has never been proved. The available evidence makes it much more likely that the same mental traits appear in varying distribution among the principal racial groups. The behavior of an individual is therefore not determined by his racial affiliation, but by the character of his ancestry and his cultural environment. We may judge of the mental characteristics of families and individuals, but not of races.

Homer, Virgil, and a Journalist

By ROBERT LOUIS BURGESS

GREEK and Latin are not subjects I reluctantly "took" in college. Nor are they gateways to a lovely garden, entered so early that the gateway is forgotten, the garden enjoyed. I approached the classic languages at the age of thirty, demanded of them something very definite, and, with fatal American successfulness, got what I demanded.

However skeptical I may be of the source of his educational ideals, I cannot but feel a certain respect for the energy of my Self, this thirty-year-old wistful pedant who forced me to take up these studies. I once told him: "I suspect you have some impossible notion of turning a hard-boiled American journalist into an English gentleman. Your early readings in Macaulay gave you the dream of having me sit by the fire, feet on fender, reading Thucydides in the original, no dictionary needed."

My dominie put his finger on his lips. "There is no time for such chatter," he said. "What is the aorist . . . ?"

The determined fellow's theory was that nearly a decade of writing for daily newspapers had worn off the edges of my words, and that hand-to-hand grappling with ancient and beautiful words would restore these edges. I should become conscious again, or perhaps for the first time, of the individual word. As a journalist I thought in terms of whole columns. Never was I able to stop one paragraph, sentence, word, commune with it closely, ask it what it signified, where it came from, where it was going. Acres of words, but never the Word, the acridly individualized etymological personality, giving forth a ringing sound, an echo, a long murmur.

I had turned to Pater, to Milton, to free verse. In all these there was something of what I sought. Here were words used individually, which were not merely parts of an agglutinated mass. But still I was not satisfied. There must be something tougher into which I could set my teeth. There must be bayonet fighting with individual words. I must learn to revise, and to revise one must grapple with true revision-units, paragraphs, not columns; sentences, not paragraphs; not sentences but words.

I went to Victoria, British Columbia. There my simple dominie, this eager Self so pathetically bent on educating his only son, found the atmosphere he must have been dreaming of while reading Thucydides at the fire with Macaulay, feet on fender. For here were high hedges behind which English gentlemen forgot their Greek and occasionally beat their wives in the grand old manner. Here were newspapers which dared not publish American comic strips for fear of losing subscribers. Here were roughly dressed well-to-do folk who went walking, brandishing sticks, defying the chamber of commerce with its slogan, "Put Canada on Wheels." And here, at the public library, was a whole shelf of Loeb Classics, already thumbed and with many loose leaves, indicating that the volumes had actually been read.

"They do seem to read them," said the librarian, herself sufficiently Americanized to be puzzled.

In this delightfully archaic atmosphere, a thousand miles away, physically, from the hurly-burly of my newspaper office in that California long since, alas, successfully

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"put on wheels," I went back spiritually two thousand years and more to the Latins and Greeks. Or at least I got as far back as old Roger Ascham, with his insistence on memorizing well the sacred cases and conjugations.

Once I said to the dominie: "Funny, isn't it, that you should get the chance to put over this early-Victorian project of yours in this early-Victorian town, actually named for the stuffy queen of sainted memory, she whose statue smirks emptily over the waters of the harbor?"

This I said aloud, but in my heart I loved the image of the young queen, young when this city of hers was founded long ago; and at times I was willing to consider her the lovely symbol of some of the things I sought.

Fifteen years before I had amo-amas-amatted a little in school. At that time I had Caesar-to-be-about-to-be'd enough to know that for me, at any rate, this was the wrong way to begin Latin; and I suspected that Xenophon was no true gateway to the Greek I wanted. And so, having the proverbial little and less of the classical languages, I decided to plunge directly into the Iliad and the Aeneid, exemplifying Edmund Spenser's remark that "a Poet thrusteth into the middest, even where it most concerneth him." Learning, unaided, to scan Virgil's hexameters, I so suffered, so sweat, so strained that I fell sick and had to take to my bed for a day. All the more delightful, therefore, when I felt the ponderous raft of the Latin line begin to move under my feet. It was the twelfth line of the first book that did first so move, commencing "Urbs antiqua fuit," a line I can never read now without a thrill, feeling that the "ancient city" has indeed given me much.

Then the Greek. Dr. Dinsmore of the University of Washington had told me of a wonderful book, then just out, "Homeric Greek," by Clyde C. Pharr, which started the beginner with Homer, teaching him first the first word of the Iliad and second the second word of the Iliad. ("Menin aeide thea"—I hum the lovely tune as I write and thank Pharr in my soul.) I got hold of this book, and plunged.

Never shall I forget the first Homeric hexameter to become, not a slowly moving raft, but a flashing canoe under my newly achieved lightness of soul: "Kalxas Thestorides, oionopolon ox aristos," a line which confines itself to imparting the information that Calchas, son of Thestor, was by far the best of the interpreters of bird omens. But it was my first Greek hexameter aesthetically appreciated. This was after many weeks of painful battling with the alphabet, with Pharr's lessons, dictionaries, literal translations, and, finally, with the despised interlinear crib which defensively quotes in its preface that remark of John Milton's, "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together as much Latin and Greek as might be learned easily and delightfully in one year."

Since then I have won some smattering of Theocritus, the Anthology, the New Testament, and of Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid. But the battle was won in the reading, scrambling from cliff to cliff, of the first eight books of the Iliad and the first six of the Aeneid. These old epics restored the edges to the smooth worn coins of my words. I have been conscious, ever since, of the individuality of words. I have at last been able to enter upon the lifelong task of revision because, grappling with the Greek and Latin, trying laboriously hour after hour to write a few sentences in schoolboy Greek, a pair of elegiac couplets in Latin, I acquired a sense for small accessible revision-units—clauses, phrases, words.

Burrowing in the Budget

(The Nation's *Weekly Washington Letter*)

By WILLIAM HARD

I

THE mole who will eat his way through the twelve hundred and eight large pages of tabulations in which the Bureau of the Budget this year presents its annually fascinating picture of the financial anatomy of the American government will see a lot of things overlooked by the eagles who piercingly glance at the newspaper headlines of the annual budget-and-economy story and then pass soaringly on. For them the Bureau of the Budget is a sort of impartial sweat-box which takes all the appropriations submitted by all the departments and bureaus and commissions and boards and Turkishly bathes their fat off them until they are all equally reduced from looking like G. K. Chesterton to looking like Calvin Coolidge. This naive view of the matter is ably promoted by all the best speeches of us Republicans. We present to the national public an alluring vision of the federal government at all points shedding avoirdupois and gluttony, and becoming a sylph and an ascetic. The problem for the Bureau of the Budget is not quite so simple.

The Bureau in fact recommends increases as well as decreases in appropriations. When it sees work that is good, it naturally is moved toward recommending more money for that work. For instance, it looks at its own work and sees that it is good and thereupon asks more money for itself. It enjoys the unique felicity (among bureaus) of being charged with the duty of estimating its own merits. These merits are indubitably and admittedly high. In the fiscal year 1924 the Bureau of the Budget cost us $136,217.72, as we say in our exact best budget manner. In the current fiscal year the Bureau of the Budget will cost us, it estimates, $177,341. In the next fiscal year its cost, it estimates, will go up to $182,323.

It may be noted further that not much progress is made by the Bureau of the Budget in cutting down the cost of maintaining the President and the White House. In fact, according to the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget, the President and the White House will in the next fiscal year cost us actually (though merely) thirty-one dollars more than they are costing us during the fiscal year now current.

In this fiscal year the President's salary and the salaries of his White House staff and his traveling expenses and White House repairs and White House fuel and White House lighting and "printing and binding" and the maintenance of the White House grounds and the White House police will cost $424,536. In the next fiscal year they will cost, the Bureau of the Budget tells us, $424,567.

The President, it is true, seems to aspire to change this added extravagance of thirty-one dollars in a year's cost of "the Executive Office" into at least a slender decline of cost by traveling in ordinary cars on ordinary trains instead of in special cars on special trains; but, at best, the decline can hardly work out into being drastic if the President does the traveling that a President is normally expected to do.

In other words, there are federal expenses which in fact do not go down; and, further, there are federal expenses which in fact keep on going up, even amid the depressing examinations and ministrations of the Bureau of the Bud-

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get; and these expenses often go up with the actual sanction of the Bureau.

The real question then becomes this: In what directions are we cutting down our federal expenses? In what directions are we maintaining them in their present size and even (in fairly numerous instances) increasing them?

The first part of the answer may seem to be critical and hostile toward the Coolidge economy claims. It is not so intended. The problem of economy in the federal government is in theory extremely simple but in practice enormously complicated and difficult. On that point certain observations (moderately illuminating ones, it is hoped) will be made in a subsequent article. Here it is frankly stated, and will be abundantly proved, that our current economy is in bulk a sort of economy which holds out no great hope for any immediate great contraction in the normal daily expenditures of the federal government on its ordinary daily functions.

Since this view is directly contrary to the view usually taken, it will now be buttressed by supporting statistics which, it is hoped, will amuse the reader.

The Bureau of the Budget estimates that in the next fiscal year our expenditures (exclusive of those paid out of Post Office revenue) will be approximately $266,000,000 less than in this present year. But where does the bulk of that lessening come from?

Thirty-one million dollars of it comes from a natural inevitable reducing of the number of soldiers of the Great War who need to be "vocationally rehabilitated."

Eighteen million dollars of it comes from the decline in our pension bill caused by inevitable deaths among our soldiers of wars before the Great War.

Twenty million dollars of it comes from the regained private financial strength of our railroads and from the consequent relief we now have from the public duty of lending them public money.

Thirty-five million dollars of it comes from the reduction of the public debt and from the consequent reduction in the amount of interest that has to be paid on it.

Another thirty-five million dollars comes from the supposed certainty that in the next year there will be fewer taxes which, having been collected in error, will have to be returned to the tax-payers who paid them.

Twenty-million dollars of it comes from the fact that the country's business has so vastly increased and our postal revenues have thereupon correspondingly so vastly increased that an estimated deficit of ten million dollars this year is supposed to be about to be turned into a surplus of ten million dollars next year.

Finally, fifty million dollars of it comes from an automatic reduction in the cost of bearing that unusual and non-normal burden, the bonus for the soldiers of the Great War.

Let now these itemized reductions be added together. They amount to $219,000,000. *They amount, that is, to more than 80 per cent of the whole net economy shown for next year compared with this year.*

It becomes absolutely proved therefore that not only the bulk but the *overwhelming* bulk of our economy for next year is in items conveying to us no promise whatsoever of any important contraction of normal regular ordinary federal governmental expenditures.

Why is this? Subsequent articles will endeavor to supply the reasons and to indicate the present drifts of federal governmental development.

In the Driftway

GRADUALLY as age comes upon the Drifter he finds that the most aggravating, the most soul-searing, the most thoroughly trying thing he has to do is to keep fixed appointments in the morning. The hour does not matter; if it be nine, then nine is too early; that particular morning finds him with a vast zest for more sleep or a more prolonged bath. If the hour is advanced to eleven, that is too late; by that time, having risen at dawn and breakfasted shortly after, he is ready for lunch and nothing is so irksome as the thought of his obligation to do something else.

* * * * *

THERE was a time—the Drifter even now grows pale at the thought of it—when each day saw him rise at a certain hour, dress hastily, breakfast more hastily, rush to the nearest public conveyance, and presently seat himself at a desk at a moment not too far removed from nine o'clock. Nor did the consciousness that tens of millions of men and women were doing the same thing at the same hour sustain his failing spirit. In an age which calls itself civilized there is no excuse for such a procedure. No man can say the night before that he will feel like working at nine o'clock on the following day; he may want to sleep until noon or rise and begin work at midnight; but no, this machine age decrees that nine is the hour for beginning the daily stint, just as five or thereabouts is the favored hour for quitting it. The Drifter is never so amazed at the docility of man, including himself, as when he contemplates this mode of life. And he has only the highest admiration and respect for the few bold spirits who refuse to be so bound—for a famous woman poet, for example, who explained to him that while engaged in her latest and most arduous piece of work, she went to bed at nine in the morning, dined, if she was hungry, at midnight, and had tea in the neighborhood of 4 a. m. (The Drifter's female acquaintances will be interested to know that the cook remained through four years of this. No, her address is not at hand.)

* * * * *

IT is a long time since the Drifter has actually been restricted to the nine-to-five schedule; nevertheless, he finds himself still so unwise as to make morning appointments, and his friends still so unwise as to expect him to keep them. Thus, when he has engaged himself for, say, ten-thirty, he feels the icy hand of that impertinent hour intruding on him all night; it drags him out of bed just in time to make his appointment if he hurries for it; it mislays his most necessary garments and ties knots in his shoe-laces; it delays the milkman with the morning's offering, and clamps itself coldly about the rolls; it holds up the subway train, it pours freezing water on the slippery streets, and snatches the last morning newspaper off the newsstand from under his nose. When he reaches his destination, late, irate, exhausted, he is in no mood for anything but to go to bed again, but of course one must never go to bed in the day time; night is the time for sleep. Each time that this little tragedy is enacted the Drifter binds himself never to make another morning appointment; each time he vows that he will not let his appointment interfere with his wishes, but will break it if he does not actually long to keep it. And these vows so far have been in vain.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

FIDAC and Nationalism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The reluctance with which the public leaders in America allow our government to be involved in international affairs does not seem to be reflected in the attitude of the ex-service men of the World War. At least, when we view the part the American Legion is playing in the affairs of FIDAC —Fédération Interalliée des Anciens Combattants—we are inclined to think such is the case.

Take, for instance, the fifth annual congress of FIDAC, which was held last October in London. That congress was attended by ten delegates from the United States, all selected from the American Legion. These ten men took an active part in the work of the congress, discussing world problems as nimbly and as intelligently, apparently, as the seventy other delegates from the eight Allied nations represented. The activity of the American delegation was sufficiently pronounced so that Colonel Thomas W. Miller, Custodian of Foreign Property in the United States, from Washington, D. C., was elected president of FIDAC for the next year.

It would be natural to assume that the man who has fought under the flag of his country would have above all else an intense spirit of nationalism. That is, it would seem that the last thing he would willingly consent to would be the surrendering of a single power or right of his government into any world organization. The experience of FIDAC runs counter to this. Instead of maintaining a strict attitude of nationalism upon world ex-service matters the members of the American Legion have gladly joined hands with European nations under the FIDAC banner.

For five years FIDAC has been advancing the ideal of world peace. The organization has been nurtured in the minds and in the hearts of a few leaders in the nations of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Servia, Rumania, and Belgium. But it has been without business management or money.

Today, with an American president who has resigned his position with the United States Government for the purpose of devoting his entire time during the next year to the expansion of the movement, and with nine other men who sat through the congress at London stirred by the ideal of world peace, FIDAC is to have its chance. Money is being raised—$50,000 as the first effort.

To those who are unfamiliar with the mental processes of the ex-service man, who did not experience the stress through which he passed during the World War, the willingness with which the members of the American Legion have accepted the program of FIDAC may seem surprising. But to the members of the Legion themselves it has been the only thing they could do. Their crippled bodies and torn lives have called for readjusted philosophies; they have broadened their visions, have gained clearer insight into human values; and they have dedicated their best efforts to making impossible the visiting of such a dreadful curse as war upon the millions unborn. In other words, the ex-service man today, particularly the disabled man, has a humanitarian attitude toward the human race. He takes the view that his responsibility is to the human race first, and to his nation second.

Not all ex-service men have advanced this far in their reasoning. The congress in London for two or three days was almost shattered by the obstinacy with which the French fought the English proposal that the ex-enemy countries of Germany and her allies be admitted into FIDAC. The other members of the congress had already traversed the path of forgiveness; they could see that world peace would be impossible until the former fighting men of all nations, ex-enemies as well as ex-friends, were joined to bring about the brotherhood of man.

FIDAC will be the instrument through which this country will be led to see that it cannot live unto itself alone. The purposes of the organization do not contemplate the drawing of the United States into the League of Nations nor making the government of this country subservient to a world court; FIDAC has nothing to do with such things. But because of the nature of world affairs in this period of human existence, contact with FIDAC ideals, which are world-wide ideals, will develop a public attitude in this country that will find its satisfactory response only in terms of world activities.

Oklahoma City, November 29 REX F. HARLOW

More Terrorism in Haiti

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Our colleague, Senator Charmant, was arrested on October 12 last in the city of Jacmel, sent in the hands of two gendarmes to Port au Prince, like a common criminal, and without regard to his age (71 years), his poor health, and the dignity of his occupation he was brutally thrown into prison by order of the prosecutor of the Court of First Instance of the capital.

Once arrested upon a charge of infringing the laws of the press an accused writer has every chance of rotting in prison, as the saying goes, as long as the authorities who have seized him feel the need of keeping him away from the political scene. They make use against him of delays, of artifices of procedure of every sort, so that whatever the decision upon the merits of the case, the man, even if declared innocent, will have been subjected to the harsh punishment reserved for guilty persons only.

For such is the iniquitous consequence of the application of the measures against the press recently decreed by the Council of State, usurper of the legislative power. Anybody, no matter who, under pretext of insulting the constituted authorities by any kind of writing, can be detained in prison during an indefinite time until a definite judgment has been rendered in regard to his guilt. Jolibois, the director of the *Courrier Haitien*, has had this sad experience almost uninterruptedly for two years. They hold him responsible for articles appearing in his journal even while he is behind the bars, deprived of communication with the world outside.

Of what do they accuse Senator Charmant? Of having, in his newspaper, the *Courrier Haitien*, on October 6 last, spoken in strong terms of disapproval of the ruling government, which has, according to him, gone to the last degree of servility in submitting to foreign domination by suppressing, under pretext of economy, the national schools, famous for many years for useful and loyal service; this at the same moment when the Dominicans were reopening the schools which had been closed by the military occupation of the United States.

Port au Prince, Haiti, October 31 GEORGES SYLVAIN,
Director, Union Patriotique

The Taxation of Land Banks

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The question as to whether the bonds of the federal land banks shall be taxed will probably come before the next Congress. There are twelve federal land banks. They are the district central fiscal agencies of the 4,600 cooperative farm loan associations. They are run for service and not for profit, and, accordingly, should enjoy the tax exemptions which cooperative organizations enjoy.

These banks, it is true, are frightfully mismanaged, but the farmers are learning that it is possible to take these banks into their own hands. Such articles as that of Mrs. Gertrude M. Shelby, in a recent number of *The Nation*, are teaching the farmers how to get control of the banks which were intended

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for them. The need of protection of these banks is acute. The enemies of the land banks are the mortgage-loan interests, who six years ago started the propaganda against their exemption from taxation in a deliberate attempt to undermine this people's banking system. In the congressional debate last year it was charged that the American Mortgage Bankers' Association was spending large sums of money to this end, and was enlisting in the propaganda the private corporations in the public-utility business. These organizations desire naturally to see every possible obstacle thrown in the way of enterprises created purely for community services which might be carried on for profit.

When the Farm Loan Act was passed it authorized two different banking systems supposedly for the relief of the farmers. One was the Federal Farm Loan System, capitalized by the farmers who organized the farm loan associations; it holds great possibilities of self-help for the farmers. The second was the Joint Stock Land Bank System, which is now composed of seventy banks all privately owned by professional banking interests and operated for the profit of the owners. Both systems were granted exemption from taxation. The second system is not entitled to it, because the exemption amounts to a subsidy to a private enterprise. But in all countries, including the United States, the principle of non-taxation of cooperative and other non-profit-making public-service institutions has become recognized.

Lake Placid, New York, December 27 J. P. WARBASSE

Mexican Labor Learns Democracy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Viva Mexico! Viva Trevino! Viva Moneda! This at least was articulate. The rest was a confused merging of shouts, protests, and applause.

The Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), holding its sixth annual convention at Juarez, Mexico, is still learning its lessons in the democracy so long denied to its members.

Picturesquely unkempt, many barefooted and clad in the rough garments of the typical Mexican agricultural worker, their piercing black eyes burning with the intensity of excitement and anticipation under their broad sombreros, eager, alert, keenly alive—they refused to be quieted.

When the secretary for agriculture was being elected, three candidates were running. The vote for the third was so small that it was decided to vote again for the two highest candidates. At once a babel of voices burst forth that sounded like the roar of the ocean. Hisses, shouts, screams, threats, pleadings, protestations, fiery orations that clashed in mid-air like the crossing of swords.

"What is the matter?" I asked. "Are they breaking up the convention?"

"No, no," Roberto Haberman informed me, with a quizzical smile, "it is nothing. They have been given five minutes to electioneer and they are doing it. You see they are learning democracy. They have been suppressed, inarticulate, so long. This is their method of expressing themselves."

When Ezekiel Salcedo, the personal representative of President Calles, appeared in the lobby of the hotel Sunday morning in a small, conventional black derby hat, we questioned him.

"Where is your beautiful broad sombrero? This hat is so ugly. It doesn't suit you."

"Gone," he replied, "in the river," and he shrugged his shoulders as if to say "I should worry."

"You see," he explained, "we passed a resolution yesterday to boycott Stetson hats because they do not bear a union label. Now a Mexican is as proud of his hat as an American of his watch. He will go barefooted, and pay fifty, yes, sometimes a hundred dollars for his hat, because he expects to wear it all his life. Many of us have bought Stetson hats because we thought them the best. But they tell us now it is a non-union shop, so as we cross the bridge we throw our hats into the Rio Grande. We must stand by our brothers."

New York, December 22 NELLIE SEEDS NEARING

Theological Note

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A slogan is the most important part of the equipment of any organization, we are told in these days, and rumor has it that the fundamentalists have taken as their own: "Keep the Hell Fires Burning." What are the modernists doing? Could not a progressive journal like *The Nation* help supply a fitting antidote? Or perhaps an annual Fire Prevention Week could be organized in the churches as well as in the schools?

San Francisco, January 8 H. E. L. L.

Contributors to This Issue

ROBERT DELL, *The Nation's* correspondent in Germany, has recently been readmitted to France from which he had been barred since the publication in 1918 of the Sixtus letter, sent by him to the *Manchester Guardian*.

FRANZ BOAS is professor of anthropology at Columbia.

CLARA M. SMERTENKO frequently reviews books on Greek literature and philosophy for *The Nation*.

WINTHROP D. LANE has been acting as adviser on penal reform for the Ohio Institute in a reorganization of the prisons of the State.

WALTER L. FLEMING is professor of history at Vanderbilt University.

JAMES RORTY won *The Nation's* poetry prize in 1921.

D. MITRANY, formerly with the *Manchester Guardian*, is a member of the Advisory Committee on Foreign Policy of the British Labor Party.

297 late reservations

for the third Nation *Dinner have had to be declined. Please take warning and let us know your wishes for the dinner of February 13th before it is too late.*

Subject: "Do Americans Speak English?" Speakers: William Hard, Carl Van Doren, and others. Seats, $2.50 each, at the office of The Nation. *Reservations can be made only by subscribers, but they may bring as many guests as they wish.*

IN MEMORY OF E. D. MOREL

and his great service to humanity and to truth a commemorative meeting will be held at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street, on Sunday evening, January 25, at 8 o'clock. Speakers, John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Alice Hunt, Charles Nagel, Edwin Markham, Syud Hussain and Prof. William R. Shepherd. The friends and admirers of Mr. Morel are urged to attend. Admission free.

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Books and Plays

First Glance

THE "vile and stinking custom" of smoking a pipe—for so James I of England called it—has been resisted in almost every country as soon as it came there. James was content to write a book against tobacco, but Mr. Alfred Dunhill in "The Pipe Book" (Macmillan: $7.50) records the decree of a seventeenth-century Turkish ruler in obedience to which "any man found smoking had his nose pierced, and the pipe thrust through the hole"; and Shah Sefi of Persia, taking it into his capricious head to prohibit tobacco, ordered two offenders to have molten lead poured down their throats until they were dead.

Still the pipe has prospered. The discovery of tobacco, a vegetable which in the opinion of Mr. Dunhill meets at last the universal need for a mild narcotic, seems to have made the fortune of this instrument of pleasure, secure as was its mere existence before Sir Walter Raleigh returned from America. The idea of a stem and bowl through which smoke shall be taken into the mouth is found in as many places, perhaps, as the idea of immortality, and is less easily killed. Witness the many makeshift pipes that men in distress have resorted to—knuckle-bones of lambs, thigh-bones of little children, crab's claws and lobster's claws, gourds, walnut-shells, gorse-roots, corn-cobs, even holes in the ground. And witness the wild enthusiasm of the Eskimo, who when he is without tobacco eats the refuse from his pipe, and who when he is supplied with the precious grains packs them into his very small bowl, lights them, and swallows the smoke. John Muir saw this once on an island in the Bering Sea, and a certain emissary from Peter the Great watched the heathen Ostiaks of Siberia likewise swallow their smoke; "after which they fall down and lie insensible like dead men, with distorted eyes, both hands and feet trembling for about half an hour. They foam at the mouth, so that they fall into a sort of epilepsy, and we could not observe where the smoke vented itself, and in this manner several of them are lost." In eighteenth-century India, according to Mr. Dunhill, the flexible tube of the nargileh became a necessity for ladies who never could lay their pipes aside. The Negroes of Guinea used to pull all day at two or three handfuls of tobacco burning in a stone bowl at the other end of a reed six feet long. And there was the Englishman not long ago who, in order to color his meerschaum perfectly, engaged a company of guardsmen to keep it going continuously for seven months. Of the present day it is sufficient to report that Washington, Missouri, produces twenty-seven million cob-pipes every year and that St. Claude in France annually manufactures thirty million briars.

Mr. Dunhill, himself a famous maker of new pipes and collector of old ones, had then a rich field before him when he set out to write "The Pipe Book." The result of his labor is a body of most fascinating information conveyed with great clarity and illustrated with plates which in many cases must make an appreciative mouth water. Here and there he has stopped to sketch the history of the pipe as it forced its way around the world. In the main, however, he has sought to assemble its infinite varieties and explain or describe them. Doubtless all the sizes and shapes are here, and doubtless all the materials—horn, bone, ivory, stone, tin, clay, cob, wood, amber, glass, meerschaum, silver, gold, porcelain, china, copper, and brass. Tobacco-pipes receive the most attention, yet much is said of pipes in which men and women consume opium, hemp, and the derivatives of hemp—kaad, bang, dakka, and hashish. And Mr. Dunhill, always interested in makeshifts, does not neglect emergency fuels like sumach, willow-bark, rhubarb-root, coltsfoot, yarrow, dock-leaf, charcoal, and manure. He does neglect corn-silk, mullein-leaf, buggy-whip, coffee, and string.

MARK VAN DOREN

The Interpretation of Aristotle

Aristotle. By W. D. Ross. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

> My father spent all the many days of his life in the study of Greek; you might suppose it was for Wisdom's sake—but my father was a modest man. The fact is, he did it for a simpler reason still, a very curious reason, to be whispered rather than told; he did it *for love.*

ONE may imagine this whispered reason to underlie the chapter upon Aristotle which D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, the distinguished English naturalist, contributed to "The Legacy of Greece," a chapter which stirs in the reader an eagerness to peruse for himself the researches of Aristotle in natural history. Mr. Ross, in the three hundred pages of his learned book, never arouses a like eagerness. The difference lies not wholly in the fact that Mr. Thompson writes with the express purpose of interesting the general reader, while Mr. Ross addresses scholars in the spirit of erudite scholarship. It lies in the fact that Mr. Thompson understands the function of learning better than Mr. Ross does. He can make Aristotle's discoveries a romantic adventure because he is even more interested in the world than he is in Aristotle, even more interested in knowing the truth about matters which Aristotle discussed than in knowing what Aristotle thought about them. Where Aristotle's views are at variance with modern science, Mr. Thompson is concerned to know why the great philosopher thought as he did.

In his preface Mr. Ross disavows the intention of criticizing Aristotle, and for an interesting reason:

> What is true in Aristotle has become part, and no small part, of the heritage of all educated men; what is false has been gradually rejected, so that explicit criticism is now hardly necessary.

Along with criticism he expressly eliminates from his purpose the effort to envisage Aristotle in relation to his predecessors and followers, as well as to interpret his dependence upon and his contribution to Greek life—the only things that make Aristotle worthy of the attention of the modern world if he really has been so completely superseded as Mr. Ross asserts. Possibly it might be argued that the setting down in detail of the substance of Aristotle's opinions is the height of self-abnegating devotion, the amassing of riches for others to use. But unfortunately such devotion is in danger of being wasted. As miserly fathers have spendthrift sons, so with rare exceptions the world is careless of accumulations of knowledge by those who know not how to use them. Bacon's aphorism, "Melius est scire pauca et iis recte uti, quam multa scire quorum ignores usum," is still pertinent.

It goes without saying that Mr. Ross's book is accurate. Indeed its very excellence in this respect makes more poignant one's regret that he has not interpreted Aristotle in a larger spirit. It is difficult to see how a writer of the twentieth century could avoid considering the bearing of social and economic facts upon Aristotle's metaphysics; could avoid, for example, considering the relation of slavery and the consequent degradation of manual labor to that glorification of pure intellect which regards even God as incapable of any activity save contemplation. The discussion of Aristotle's politics, again, suffers

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throughout from inadequate recognition of the difference between ancient and modern conditions. He comments as follows upon Aristotle's conception of the city as the ultimate unit of government:

> In the course of history city-states have proved unable to maintain themselves against larger and more powerful aggregates. Their inferiority has not thereby been proved; there is much to be said for Aristotle's view.

One could hardly conceive a less pertinent comment in view of the vast difference which ease of communication and transportation makes to the scale on which effective government is possible, and still more in view of the difference resulting from the discovery of the principle of representation, an event as far-reaching in its consequences as the invention of the steam engine. In Aristotle's day effective government on a large scale could only be autocracy. Again, in the consideration of Aristotle's famous dictum, "Man is a political animal," it is not enough to note the jurisdiction of the Greek state over religion, education, and other matters which we regard as more or less private. The spiritual import of the *polis* as a focus of community activity demands full interpretation before Aristotle's profound observation can be understood. The discussion of Aristotle's ethics is much more satisfactory. Something of a Victorian flavor runs through it, however, manifest in such un-Aristotelian language as this:

> The student must be so brought up that he accepts the general opinions of moral questions which represent the collective wisdom of the race.

Scholars must recognize that the kind of interpretation of Greek philosophy which hitherto has prevailed no longer meets the needs of present-day thought. Aristotle, as Mr. Ross suggests, will never again be a repository of authoritative knowledge as he was in the Middle Ages. He is, however, an astounding phenomenon in the development of the human mind. An adequate interpretation of him in his historical milieu would be one of the most valuable contributions possible to the history of the human spirit.

CLARA M. SMERTENKO

The Human Criminal

The Criminal as a Human Being. By George S. Dougherty. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

WHAT does a detective think about criminals? He follows them, searches out the places where they live, learns their habits of coming and going, shadows them for days without losing the trail, studies their "mugs" at police line-up, interviews them, and works his way into their intricate methods and movements—comes to have, in fact, a mind stored with criminal ways, criminal faces, and the external and visible signs of the whole criminal world. How does this affect him? What thoughts does he really come to have about these scourges of society? When the heat of the hunt has cooled and this procession of law-breakers passes before him in review, what are his considered opinions about the race of offenders?

Mr. Dougherty, the philosophizing detective, tells you. Mr. Dougherty "knows at sight most of the criminals of any importance in the United States," says the advertisement on the jacket of his book. He has been following criminals for many years, as Pinkerton operative and as former deputy commissioner and chief of detectives in the New York Police Department. His face stares at you from the back of the "red book" of the New York telephone service, where his present detective bureau is advertised. He presents the criminal as a human being whose wits are pitted against those of society. There is here, if one may take the book at its face value, nothing of that tough point of view from which the criminal is regarded as an adder, a venomous and vile wretch whose nature is all devil and who must be kept away from decent people. The criminal here is very much like the rest of us. With "all his shortcomings," says Mr. Dougherty, "the criminal may be more human than the law-abiding citizen sunk in his rut of respectability—more human in his emotions, his resourcefulness, his sympathies." Mr. Dougherty chats pleasantly about his friendship with many criminals. It is through a sympathetic understanding of their essential humanness, he says, that law-breakers may most often be induced to reform. With thieves of all kinds, he declares, "you are, first of all, ninety-nine times in a hundred, dealing with a weak or warped personality that has seldom been treated fairly by police officers." The true thief, he says again, is "not all there," mentally or physically. Perhaps his environment from birth has been wrong. Many thieves, says Mr. Dougherty—he seems to specialize in thieves—never learned to play children's games, or to belong to the sand-lot baseball nine. The results of such upbringing are deplorable and all too plain. We must understand the offender to help him.

This is an interesting and novel point of view in a detective. There is indication, however, that Mr. Dougherty does not understand the criminal and his treatment as thoroughly as he thinks he does. Only the first chapter of his book deals with the criminal as a human being. The rest is devoted to the arts of shadowing and "roping," the methods of criminals, the peculiarities of blackmailers, dinner thieves, stick-up men, and house-prowlers, the real city detective, and so on—the anecdotes and chat of a professional "bull." Mr. Dougherty soon forgets the wisdom of his first chapter. "The criminal is cunning and deceitful," he writes, on page 124; whereas on page 19 many criminals had been presented as "not all there mentally."

Also, Mr. Dougherty does not really understand those complex and varied disturbances of personality which modern criminology sees as causative factors in so much crime. He does not see the psychological differences among criminals or the absolute necessity of individualizing treatment, of separating one offender from another and treating him on the basis of his individual needs. Criminals are not a class; they are no more a class than capitalists or investors or the owners of motor cars. Mr. Dougherty does not quite see this. Again, he has little quarrel with our present prison system. He would have the warden be humane and he would help the criminal to "make good" when he has done his bit; but he suggests no improvements in the ways prisons choose to prepare men for law-abiding lives. As a detective he is satisfied if the man whom he has caught is sent up for his legal term. This is to miss the whole problem of making headway against criminal tendencies once formed, for to convict a man is merely to prove that he committed a specific offense; it has nothing to do with the cure of any traits that are driving him toward crime. Mr. Dougherty is wise enough to be a good influence among detectives, but unfortunately he seems to think he has reached the heart of a matter on which he has only had a gleam or two of light.

WINTHROP D. LANE

David Wilmot

David Wilmot: Free Soiler. A Biography of the Great Advocate of the Wilmot Proviso. By Charles Buxton Going. D. Appleton and Company. $6.

THE Wilmot Proviso long ago passed into history. With its introduction into Congress in 1846 by an obscure member from Pennsylvania began the last phase of the controversy over slavery which ended when the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted nineteen years later. The Proviso has been exhaustively discussed by historians, but about its author little is known. The Proviso made him famous; then he drops out of the story. Now comes a biographer, painstaking and faithful, to tell what sort of man Wilmot was.

Notwithstanding all the work that went into the book, perhaps in part because of it, this story is not one to make Wilmot live again. The style is clear and dry and lifeless, and the narra-

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tive is too long drawn out. In places it is a patchwork of political correspondence, speeches, and editorials which needed much boiling down. There is but little local color and little historical background. We follow Wilmot through all of his boarding-houses in Washington and we know with whom he lived, yet we do not learn much of what he did or said or felt on other subjects than politics. Quite likely there was little save political material for Mr. Going to make use of, for no letters could be more entirely political in content than those of Wilmot. But a kind of personality does emerge. We see dimly an able, vigorous man, a good politician, a good party man at first—not worried by conscientious scruples, fond of good eating and drinking—though never a statesman. Beginning as a lawyer and local politician, in his course of honors he is member of Congress, district judge, Senator, and member of the Court of Claims. An excellent worker at all tasks, his fame rests only upon the Proviso.

The best chapters are those dealing with the antecedents, origin, and authorship of the Proviso and the long struggle over it in House and Senate. In the Proviso debate, which ranges far and wide over the field of slavery, few abolition notes are sounded, but the Free Soil feelings of the Northern Democrats are everywhere evident. Wilmot's own statement will serve for all: "I have no squeamish sensitiveness upon the subject of slavery nor morbid sympathy for the slave. I plead the cause of the rights of white free men. I would preserve for white labor a fair country, a rich inheritance, where the sons of toil of my own race and color can live without the disgrace which association with Negro slavery brings upon free labor."

WALTER L. FLEMING

A La Votre!

The Wines of France. By H. Warner Allen. Brentano's. $3.
Paris Restaurants. By "Robert-Robert." Brentano's. $1.
London Restaurants. By "Diner-Out." Brentano's. $1.

THE author of "The Wines of France" blends knowledge, reverence, and tolerance—qualities not too prevalent in our home-brewed literature, qualities with which one wishes it was possible to mellow the domestic spirits who are so sure of having reached final truth that they burn in their zeal to impose it by force upon all others. Unfortunately, those who most need to read this book will not. No copy was seen protruding from a pocket of Mr. William H. Anderson as he emerged from Sing Sing, nor will its seductiveness ever reach the palates—or minds—of those stern souls who classify all fluids containing alcohol under the one word "rum," and consign them to the sewers with a single implacable gesture.

Of no such folk was the scholar Erasmus, who in 1532 expressed a wish to live in France, not to command armies but to drink Beaune wine. "Happy, happy Burgundy," he wrote, "which deserves to be called the mother of man, since she gives him such good milk from her breast."

One of the glories that is France is that her chief industries are not an attempt to make something which all the world makes, winning by doing it cheaper. They are efforts to make something unique, something individual. To be sure, there is an enormous amount of execrable wine made and sold in France—especially to tourists—but the great vineyards are not exploited as purely commercial ventures. To a large extent they are in the hands of old families who would as soon sell out their country in time of war as degrade one of its great products merely to make more money for themselves. There survives still much of that non-commercialized spirit which Dom Goblet exhibited when he was asked to supply Napoleon, then fresh from his triumphs in Italy, with some ancient Clos Vougeot: "If he wants Vougeot forty years old, he must come to my house and drink it. I do not sell it."

The author of "The Wines of France" has tramped through all the famous grape-growing regions of the country, and he tells the story of their vineyards and the methods of production, enlivened with an abundance of historical background. Some of these vineyards, of course, are almost as priceless as the Garden of Eden. All of the grapes that go into the famous Romanee Conti wine, which has been described as "bottled velvet and satin," are grown on four and a half precious acres in Burgundy which as far back as 1869 changed hands for almost $50,000. In 1895, the author relates, the Lord Mayor and Municipal Council of London were entertained at a banquet at Château La Tour Blanche, at which "there was such a list of Bordeaux wines as the world had never seen." Alas, "some of the councilors—how many vandals there were among them history does not relate—refused wines perfect beyond compare, and asked for whiskey and soda. It is a wonder there was no blood shed."

One picks up these guide-books of Paris and London restaurants with some trepidation. Are the authors, one asks himself, going to expose to the vulgar public all those fascinating and colorful places in Soho or the Latin Quarter where he used to dine cheaply but oh, so gloriously? Queer it is how one comes to regard his particular public restaurant as strictly private. He takes a possessive pleasure in making it known to his friends, but he resents any general publicity as bitterly as he would a rubberneck wagon that should bring a load of sightseers to go slumming through his home.

But there is no need to fear these books. They contain useful information for the visitor, and the one on London, in particular, is written with deftness as well as knowledge. But the places listed are mostly of the sort that in New York City would appear in the "Where to Dine" columns of the newspapers. One suspects that the authors—doubtless prudent as well as informed men—have omitted those few precious places which they regard as their strictly private preserves. Not half a dozen restaurants in the Latin Quarter are mentioned—these mostly places which this reviewer never dared to enter, or at least not a second time. None of his best-loved haunts is revealed. Possibly they no longer exist. More possibly they never did. They were the creation of a good appetite, boon companions, and a lively imagination. To try to rediscover them now would be as futile as the efforts of "Conrad in Search of His Youth." It is better, as one thumbs wistfully the pages of these guide-books, to sit at memory's table ordering without fear of indigestion or the *addition* from the bill of fare of the Gods. . . .

"Garçon, dépêchez-vous!"

ARTHUR WARNER

A Land Half Seen

A Far Land. By Martha Ostenso. Thomas Seltzer. $1.50.

THIS volume is disturbing, like the performance of a singer whose voice and temperament are both curiously veiled. At first one is tempted to simplify one's impression in terms of technique and say: "Miss Ostenso has an ear, but no eye." This, however, expresses neither the author's accomplishment nor her apparent limitation. The limitation has to do not so much with a lack of visual sensitiveness as with the quality of the associative processes that are brought to bear upon the image. It is the mind's eye that lacks energy and precision. Yet Miss Ostenso's product is genuine and personal. She has her own way of listening to the world and of responding to it with a delicate falling music, such as one hears in her title poem:

Dark cannot blot the dark
In the place I know,
Rain cannot drown the rain,
Wind cannot blow
The wind of that stormed land
Where stillness falls
On sudden wings, like a band
Of quiet birds on ruined walls.

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This and half a dozen other poems almost demonstrate the possibility of personal communication through a personal rhythm—a shadowy communication which no attempt at intellectual analysis can quite seize. One is obliged to admit, regretfully, that this gift is sometimes used to communicate sentimentality, as in The Tramp and Fay. And nowhere does it fully satisfy. If it did, Miss Ostenso's "far land" would be real enough to coexist with Bulgaria and Afghanistan and Indiana—and the domains of Kubla Khan. It is not that real. One could not possibly take a trip there—at least not yet. One is inclined to believe, however, that if Miss Ostenso continues to write poetry she will demonstrate that she has both something to say and a way of saying it.

JAMES RORTY

Books in Brief

Growth. By G. R. de Beer. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

Without dedicating his work to the "educated layman," Mr. de Beer has managed to produce a study of growth which can be read without the slightest discomfort even by those timid creatures who show visible alarm in the presence of photographic reproductions of vivid histological import. Each technical term has its meaning so skilfully insinuated into the reader's mind that difficulties over nomenclature never arise. It is truly a fascinating work and should be read by all who would know scientifically how we grow, why we grow, and why we stop growing and ultimately die. Rejuvenation naturally bobs up, and though Professor de Beer is perhaps a little too sanguine regarding the famous Steinach technique the discussion entitled Growth, Differentiation, and Age is enlightening and interesting. Here we have a distinguished anatomist and zoologist who knows how to make his subject appealing to the lay reader without being in any degree unscientific. It can be done. It should be done more frequently.

The Genesis and Birth of the Federal Constitution. By J. A. C. Chandler. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Mr. Chandler has edited a series of papers and addresses by various persons delivered in 1921 before the Marshall-Wythe School of Government and Citizenship at the College of William and Mary. Included with the series, but not a part of it, is the presidential address of the Hon. Hampton L. Carson before the American Bar Association in 1920. The "genesis" of the Constitution is traced, in Freemanesque fashion, from the Greek city-state through the Roman and early Italian republics, and thence in England from Magna Carta to the Stuarts. Following this sweeping survey, which fills nearly one-half of the volume, are chapters on the government of Virginia and Massachusetts prior to the federal constitutional period. None of the addresses offers anything new, and some of them are slight, but those which treat of the work of the Federal Convention and the ratification of the Constitution by the States (the latter by Dr. James Brown Scott) are more worth while.

Drama

Jazz of the Spirit

"THE mind," said Mr. Aldous Huxley in one of his prose poems, "has lost its Aristotelian elegance of shape." What he meant by this tantalizing phrase I am not at all sure, but he may have meant that the enormous increase in our knowledge of the world has made it impossible any longer to arrange that knowledge into a comprehensive or meaningful pattern. Let anyone who fails to sympathize with those who feel this confusion do no more than scan the headlines of the *Morning Edition*. Then, if he dare, let him seek to find the meaning in the events he sees there recorded or attempt to deny that the life of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand persons is a series of meaningless actions controlled by no principle either inside or outside themselves, and leading to no conclusion either satisfactory to them or edifying to those who watch them.

We know more than any age ever knew before of the events which take place around us, but we are also less sure than any that we can understand them. We cannot even say that we have never seen the good man cut off, or that the voice with a smile wins, without having our generalization refuted by innumerable items of news. If to the indignant moralists it seems that the broken rhythm and the wild, discordant shrieks of jazz are the only things which seem to typify the mood of the people it is because they have, without being philosophers, abandoned hope of finding either moral or intellectual meaning in their existence, and because they believe in nothing except the hectic sensations of the moment which alone can smother their despair. They bind themselves together in klans and rotary clubs, hoping that a group hypnosis will enable them to believe in some pathetic sham like Nordic superiority or the god of commercial prosperity, but when the meeting has been dissolved and the members can be frank with themselves the pocket flask and the saxophone reassert their supremacy. More than one artist, surveying this chaos, has longed to describe it, but conventional form has seemed too limited and too orderly to include their impressions. The result is the expressionistic novel and the expressionistic play.

I am far from wishing to suggest that John Howard Lawson's play "Processional" (Garrick Theater) is a completely successful attempt to mirror this state of mind. The author does not, in his own way, do it so well as Aldous Huxley and James Joyce have done it in theirs; but it is something of the sort, I think, which he has wished to do, and he has come close enough to success to awaken the highest interest and the most generous admiration. Taking a story based upon an incident in the West Virginia coal region, he has deliberately thrown realism to the winds. Basing his technique now upon the expressionistic drama, now upon the rough caricature of vaudeville, he has mingled tragedy and satire, pathos and burlesque into a phantasmagoria of diverse elements which does somehow suggest both the wild disorder of contemporary life and the emotional exasperation which it produces.

The figure of the tragic hero is almost realistic, but all the subsidiary ones belong to some region which lies between genuine symbolism and the rough and ready caricature of the comic strip. The silk-hatted master of the mine; the Polish laborer eager to explain in a continuous discourse of two weeks' duration the place of the workingman in history; the broad-mouthed Negro with his banjo; and the heroine, a flapper of the slums ready at every moment to go into the nervous convulsions of the jazz dance—these and many more are figures grotesque to the last extreme, yet undoubtedly veracious in their exaggerated outline, and they perform all sorts of fantastic acts which are nevertheless no more than caricatures of their normal behavior. The white-robed members of the Klan respond in unison "God's will be done" when their master announces that "the tar and feathers are ready"; but they break up in a fox trot. The soldiers, under the orders of the master of the mines, knock down the Pole to search him; but when they come across the photograph in his pocket they leap to attention and, taking off their hats, declaim with exaggerated sentiment: "His mother!" These acts are no madder than those daily performed, but they are simplified until their grotesqueness stands nakedly forth.

Such an extravagant method can be justified only if it obtains effects which a more conventional one could not produce. Mr. Lawson's play does, it seems to me, thus justify itself. The things which he definitely says could be and have been said in straightforward plays dealing with social themes, but the emotional effects could not be duplicated by any drama of conventional structure. His various types with their recur-

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rent and characteristic utterances are less the protagonists in any definite story than different instruments, each with a characteristic range and timbre, composing the orchestra upon which is played the jazz symphony of contemporary life. Each seems almost unaware of the other and yet each is obedient to an underlying rhythm, set by the lust of life, which makes them, without knowing it, play in a sort of wild harmony. What one gets from the performance is not the particular story which the play has to tell but the sensation which it gives of the cries of disorganized humanity orchestrated in the form of a nearly formless symphony.

The members of the Theater Guild have given the play an appropriately fantastic setting, and the actors have entered perfectly into its spirit; but although they have done all possible to make its intention clear they have not and could not make it a play for the general public. A large portion of even the Guild's highly selected audience was frankly either puzzled or contemptuous, and it cannot be denied that certain of Mr. Lawson's crudities make it easy to mock him if one desires to do so. But of detailed criticism and of mockery he will get enough. Let it suffice to say that "Processional" is both novel and arresting.

Those who like their jazz straight and unsophisticated will find it in "Big Boy," a lively entertainment which centers about the personality of the enormously popular Mr. Al Jolson. He manages somehow to arrange the frank obscenity of the smoking-room story and the facile sentiment of the "Mammy" song into the same syncopated rhythm; jazz is thus the natural medium for the expression of his personality. "Is Zat So" deals with the adventures of a prize-fighter in society. Its rough and ready humor seems to destine it to some success, but it is hardly for the critical.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL *Annual Dinner and Discussion*
ALDINE CLUB, 5th Ave. Bldg., 7 p.m., Feb. 3rd.
Speakers: Harry Emerson Fosdick, Stephen S. Wise, Heywood Broun, A. J. Muste, John Cowper Powys, Edmund B. Chaffee, Will Durant.
Tickets $2.50, obtainable at 239 E. 14th St.; sale limited to 700; reserve before Jan. 30th.

RAND SCHOOL
7 East 15th Street
SHERWOOD ANDERSON "The Modern Impulse in Writing" Jan. 30, Feb. 6 at 8:30, Jan. 7 at 3:30 p.m.
CLEMENT WOOD Fridays "Our Expanding Universe"
BENJ. C. GRUENBERG Tuesdays "Guiding the Child's Leisure"
ALGERNON LEE Tuesdays "Among My Books"

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Dr. SCOTT NEARING, Affirmative, ALEXIS C. FERM, Principal of The Modern School, Negative
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International Relations Section

Toward a Jugoslav Republic

By D. MITRANY

THE document which *The Nation* gives its readers this week will be of value to the historian as marking the moment when in Jugoslavia, as in so many other countries of late, the heart of the people turned against the rule of kings. The student of politics will find many details in it illuminating the recent events in that country and the character of Balkan politics in general. To the general reader it will serve as an opportune and authentic introduction to the crisis now existing in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The interest of the document is enhanced by the character of the body which issued it. Just as some truly great journals exercise an influence which far exceeds their circulation, so the Croat Union weighs in the balance of its country's public opinion much more heavily than its mere membership would warrant. The chief characteristic of this essentially middle-class organization is that it includes the bulk of the Croat intelligentsia. Its intimate meetings sometimes suggest an extra-mural gathering of the faculty of Zagreb University. The President of the Union is Dr. Ivan Lorkovich, editor of the Zagreb *Hrvat* and one of the finest gentlemen between the Alps and the Balkans. The special conference which adopted the republican resolution mentioned in the document was also attended by a group of delegates from Dalmatia, headed by Dr. Ante Trumbich, well known as one of the framers of the Pact of Corfu.

How significant were his presence and his vote there! What a span of history is marked by those two documents —the Pact of Corfu and the Union's declaration—though six years only separate the one from the other! The Pact of Corfu was a constitutional pact wherein leaders of the southern Slavs agreed to join in a unitary kingdom, with Belgrade as its capital and the Serbian royal house as the ruling dynasty. In the statement printed on the following page the Croat Union definitely dedicates itself now to a federative and republican form of government. Said Dr. Lorkovich in introducing the resolution: "For us, gentlemen, for the Croat Union, this means that we break with every compromise in regard to the sovereignty of the Croatian people which we may have been ready to make hitherto."

Up to the time of that declaration the only party which formally stood upon a republican platform was the Croatian Peasant Party, led by Stephen Radich. With seventy members in Parliament it was the second-largest party in the country, following that of Pachich, which had 107. Its federalist claims, however, were shared by the Slovenes and others. They together formed a strong group of 114 deputies in a Chamber of 313 all told, yet without in any way being able to further their federalist point of view. For on the one side was Pachich, who is not a man to be reasoned with, and on the other side was Radich, who persistently refused to go to Belgrade. He argued that it was useless to attend a Parliament dominated by intractable Serbian politicians. They had ignored every wish of the Croats and of the Slovenes, and, falsifying the spirit of the Pact of Corfu, had forced through the highly centralized Vidovdan constitution. How could one work with such stubbornly selfish and intolerant people?

By the beginning of 1924 the whole Opposition came to ask themselves that question. The inevitable answer led them all*—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Germans, etc. —to join hands for the purpose of turning Pachich out of power and attempting to settle the issues which were increasingly undermining the unity of the state. It was a solemn and hopeful moment when, as a consequence, the Croats came for the first time to take their seats in the Parliament of Belgrade. It was also the moment when the series of unfortunate events set in which led to the present serious crisis in Jugoslavia. Briefly described, these events will show how in the relentless pursuit of their narrow-minded ends the ruling factors did not hesitate to pass from mere chicanery through political misdemeanor to a reactionary coup d'etat, which has finally unmasked the malign policy of Pachich and of the King.

As the arrival of the Croats was bound to put the Pachich Government in a minority, everyone expected it to retire. It was properly assumed that the King would call upon Ljuba Davidovich, whom the united opposition had appointed as its leader, to form a government. Both expectations proved premature. Instead of resigning Pachich began with a parliamentary intrigue. In Jugoslavia the mandates of newly elected deputies have to be confirmed by a parliamentary committee. Usually that is a mere formality, but in the case of the Croatian deputies that formality was delayed for several weeks, during which time they could sit in Parliament but could not vote. Early in May the Croat mandates were at last confirmed. On the same day the King enabled Pachich to escape a vote of censure by adjourning Parliament till October 20. By this trick Pachich could remain in power, unwanted but not yet outvoted. He had nevertheless to resign at the end of July, as the Opposition insistently pressed for a special session of Parliament. On July 27 Ljuba Davidovich took office with a composite cabinet, and a short special session of Parliament voted its confidence in him. His position was enormously strengthened when the Croats agreed to fill four seats in the Cabinet, thus proving that they were willing to take their part in a unitary kingdom until constitutional developments should satisfy their wishes for autonomy. It was in such auspicious circumstances that the King loosed his thunderbolt upon an unsuspecting country. About the middle of October, a few days before the meeting of Parliament, he forced Davidovich to resign. Pachich was called back to power and allowed to dissolve the Parliament which had voted confidence in his opponents.

The reactionary course of the King called forth a joint protest of the whole Opposition. Another and more significant retort is the important document which follows. The final answer would no doubt have been given at the elections which are to take place early in February. But Pachich so well foresaw their results that he has abandoned all restraint and taken refuge in unmitigated violence. The Croat leader, Radich, and hundreds of his fellow-workers have been imprisoned, his Peasant Party has been outlawed, as guilty of subversive intentions toward the state. But that party is a whole province and a whole people; are we then to understand that Jugoslavia, the union of the

* The one exception was a group of fourteen Democrat deputies led by Svetozar Pribichevich which went over to Pachich and was rewarded by him with four seats in the Cabinet.

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southern Slavs, is an impossibility? It probably is, as long as Pachich—and, perhaps, the King—rule in Belgrade.

The Croat Union Protests

THE protest of the Croat Union, to which Mr. Mitrany refers in his article, was published in the *Freies Heim* (Zagreb) for November 27, 1924.

1. Since its establishment the Croat Union has stood upon the principle of the sovereignty of the people. This republican principle is the basis of modern democracy, which declares that the people create the state and that the power of the state is the product of the people's will, that the people are the source of all political authority, and that the power of the state is fully justified only when it is established by the people; the people alone have the right to make the supreme decisions in the state, and no one can exercise the power of the state without a mandate from the people.

This principle of the sovereignty of the people has been expressed by the Croat Union in all its declarations and manifestations, in accordance with the general will of the Croat people, even in the decision of the Croatian parliament of October 29, 1918, which authorized the constituent assembly to make the sovereign decision upon the composition and form of the state.

2. Maintaining this principle but taking account of the form of the kingdom of Serbia with which Croatia was establishing a new relationship, the Croat Union was ready to adopt the following position: Without touching the principle of the people's sovereignty, to create a democratic (which really means a republican) federated state in the form of a monarchy under the dynasty of the kingdom of Serbia.

Upon the assumption that this could be realized as soon as the functions which the people intrusted to the king had been defined and limited by the constitution, and inspired by the example of the democratic spirit of many other progressive European constitutional monarchies, the Croat Union was inclined to accept such a state with an hereditary king as the form of expression of the people's will.

3. Yet the experiences of the last six years, especially recent experiences, convincingly demonstrate that the present-day monarchy does not give the people's will effective expression. If one desires such expression compromises must be abandoned and the democratic principle must be given its formal expression in a republican form of government. That is the conviction today of the Croat Union, which has therefore decided formally to declare for a republican form of government. A short factual summary of past events will justify this conviction.

4. Even the first so-called parliament, the provisional "People's Assembly," which was artificially formed without an election, demonstrated the possibility of imposing a centralized state system and showed that a democratic regime was still far removed. Through use of the administrative power new types of law were imposed upon the people, the existing laws were changed, and international treaties were ratified in such manner that national territories and national property were disposed of in the name of the people and assumed international importance without the consultation or knowledge of the people. Even in the pretenses of the necessities and difficulties of creating a new state, the true intention to subordinate the people made itself obvious.

5. With the creation of the present constitution, commonly known as the Vidovdan constitution, came an energetic attempt to impose upon the people a definite constitutional situation which took no account of the people as the bearer of the law and the power in the state. Sovereign power was in fact taken from the constituent assembly and a situation was created which made it dangerously easy to force the consent of the assembly. In this fashion the so-called Constitution-Parliament was established which was to vote only upon the constitution which expressed the will of those then in power. Against such an attack upon the sovereignty of the people the elected representatives of the Croats protested vigorously.

6. When even these machinations proved insufficient the most extreme terroristic means were for six months utilized against the representatives of the people, and enough votes were bought to assure an absolute majority. On June 28, 1921, on the day of the Vidovdan catastrophe of the Serbian people, the present constitution was imposed upon the Croat and Slovene peoples despite authoritative promises by the Kingdom of Serbia that the constitution would be adopted only by a qualified majority and without compulsion or oppression.

7. The experience of this constitution has demonstrated to us that this fundamental law was not created with the intention of giving the state a constitutional regime under the protection of a ruler who would be the first to honor and preserve it. Rather it was the intention thus to make it possible to centralize the entire power of the state in Belgrade and secretly to give the trustees of the state power over the people, their property, their life, and their fate.

8. It is therefore no wonder that such a constitution has had desolating results, progressively destroying national achievements in the field of law, politics, culture, and economics, and that it has created the conviction abroad that a state so ruled deserves neither confidence nor respect. In such circumstances it is difficult to speak without irony of parliamentarism, constitutionality, or civic freedom; and the administration, rotten with corruption, is destroying itself by its own lawlessness, stupidity, and anarchy. Furthermore, personal freedom is so threatened that there have been repeated cases of political attacks upon the life and freedom of individuals; there have even been massacres (for instance, in Bjelopolje, Mitrovica, and Pristina). Recently an attempt was made at night upon the life of a deputy while he was in the hands of the police, who were escorting him to prison despite his parliamentary immunity upon the pretense that they could not read his parliamentary papers. This was the engineer August Kosutich, who was attacked at Kastel in Dalmatia.

9. Despite certain passages in the Vidovdan constitution according to which this is a constitutional parliamentary state, other provisions of the same document largely revoke its legislative powers and make its control over the state illusory. So the parliament becomes a fiction and an illusion. And since this parliament was insufficiently subordinate and showed a desire to resume its legal attributes and control the activity of the state, it was thus treated.

10. The Serbian Radical Party (which, despite the fact that it masks itself under the name of the Party of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, is an eminently pan-Slavic Serbian socialist party) desired in December, 1922, to strengthen its position by new elections because it was in a minority in parliament. These elections it wished to carry out in its own fashion using its familiar method. At the election of March 18, 1923, the Government did succeed in increasing the number of deputies of the Radical Party, but the total was only 107 in a parliament of 312. Even this result, which was largely due to reckless utilization of the power of the state for party ends, and to distortion of electoral arithmetic, fails to correspond to the number of votes which this party, rightly or wrongly, received. Upon a proportional basis, the party would have had only 82 instead of 107 deputies.

11. Thus the people expressed their lack of confidence in this party which fought the election—and failed to receive a majority—under the slogan "Preservation and execution of the Vidovdan constitution." Yet by using its power through all sorts of intrigues and pressure it succeeded in retaining the reins of government, treating parliament as an unauthoritative institution which was nevertheless unavoidable in the present democratic atmosphere.

12. In the spring of 1924 an important change occurred in parliament. A few thinking and just Serbian patriots

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This is the story of a Polish lad who came to this country in 1907 as he relates it in the February number of Scribner's Magazine.

* * *

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* * *

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* * *

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* * *

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* * *

In this February number, Ellsworth Huntington, who advocates the regulation by the state of its own biological development, contributes "The Suicide of Russia." Not political, but biological.

* * *

Albert Guérard has something to say about picking a safe, rather than a brilliant, man for the presidency in "In the Realm of King Log."

It was he who wrote "Mesocracy in France: the Dictatorship of the Middle Class" in the January Scribner's Magazine.

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"Ragtime, Jazz, and High Art" is W. J. Henderson's subject, and so-called "classical" art in America suffers at his hands.

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John Hays Hammond's "Strong Men of the Wild West" with its comments upon law and its enforcement begins in this issue.

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"Humanizing Industry" by Charles S. Myers will be a feature of the March number.

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headed by Ljuba Davidovich began to see that this destruction of the people's life would finally lead to reaction and ruin even of the Serbian people in their own territory, and so they decided to begin the task of saving the people. They therefore turned to the idea of an honorable entente cordiale.

13. The representatives of the Croatian people, supported by those of the Slovenes, had always expressed this idea but got no response. When this appeal came from Serbia, despite the fact that it did not yet go far enough, the Croatian Peasant Republican Party (which, in the elections of 1923, had carried not only Croatia but also Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina) abandoned its previous policy of staying away from the Belgrade parliament (which it had followed so long as there was no offer from the Serbs of an entente cordiale) and for the first time entered parliament to cooperate in its work.

The inevitable result of this step was that the Radical Government under the leadership of Nicola Pachich was put in the minority and had to resign.

14. Then the Pachich Government, with the help of irresponsible elements which seem to have gained a decisive influence in the monarchy, sought by underground machinations and intrigues to frustrate the verification of the mandates of the Croatian deputies.

15. When this failed, Nicola Pachich, as leader of the Radical Party, demanded that he be given a mandate to form a coalition Government with Svetozar Pribicevich. Since this demand could not be met at once on account of public opinion Nicola Pachich announced at a meeting in Bjieljina that he was determined to carry through his policy by any means, even by bloodshed. Referring to the solution of the crisis, he said:

> We then asked the king to permit us to ask the people whether they wished this state preserved as it was or changed. Only the people have the right to decide that. The king took oath that he would rule according to the will of the people, not according to the will of individual parties. . . . We do not know what the king will decide but the Radical Party will not give up its intention to keep this state as it is and I hope that it will be able to force those who oppose the people's will into obedience.

Nicola Pachich's hint and threat, in posing as the protector of the state as it is, is plain.

16. Nicola Pachich did not immediately receive a mandate to call an election; he was asked to form a new Government which, even with the support of Svetozar Pribicevich's group, did not have a majority in parliament.

This Government was able to keep parliament closed, knowing that parliament would vote a lack of confidence. Parliament's regular activity was suspended until October 20 when, according to the precise instruction of the Vidovdan constitution, it was to resume its regular activity. This was a violation of the constitution and a coup d'etat; it aroused bitter resentment even in all parts of Serbia. Thus an absolutist Government opposed to parliament, ruling unsupervised and without responsibility, was inaugurated.

17. The opposition, which had a strong and compact majority, did not submit. It proposed, upon the basis of the constitution, that parliament be called into an extraordinary session, especially since certain urgent questions of a social and humanitarian nature for the benefit of the suffering poor needed attention.

18. It was difficult simply to refuse such a proposal based upon the constitution, so a different temporary escape was found. The composition of a working Government was intrusted to the leader of the opposition, Ljuba Davidovich, and this was formed on July 27 with the program of freeing the administration of corruption and preparing the way for an entente cordiale of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Those are the two most important questions for the settlement and consolidation of conditions in the state.

19. The new Government called parliament together in extraordinary session, worked out a few urgent laws, especially the invalid law and the law against corruption, and won a vote of confidence. A few concrete complaints were brought before parliament with the request that some of the ministers of the Pachich Cabinet should be indicted for dishonorable acts, to prove which concrete data were submitted.

The Croat deputies who expressed their confidence in the Government were prepared to enter it and to accept direct responsibility even under the king although they belonged to a strict republican party.

20. The people breathed more freely, for it seemed that with this political change times would become more endurable.

When October 20 drew near, however, the Davidovich Government, although it had the unlimited confidence of the majority, was asked to resign in a manner which is clear in the published text of the resignation:

> Since Your Majesty has expressed the necessity of my resigning in the interest of a continuation of our policy of peace, order, law, attack on corruption, and an entente cordiale of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, I take the liberty of submitting my resignation.

Ljuba Davidovich himself recently told a gathering that his Government was systematically hindered in its activity, and that government decrees were held up for weeks. Since the public had no suspicion what was happening an attempt was made to compromise the Davidovich Government which had the people's confidence. Davidovich has openly stated that his Government, which was formed on July 27, felt as early as July 28 that it would be forced to resign. The intrigue was carried by means of false reports which some of the generals were asked to submit.

21. This proceeding brought Nicola Pachich back to power for the period of the elections in a Government composed of the Radical Party and the friends of Svetozar Pribicevich. This Government is the embodiment of reaction, ready to use any means to achieve its goals. It is characteristic of the constitutionality and parliamentarism of the period that in the entire six years not one government has been changed because of an insufficient parliamentary majority. Every government has been formed in extra-parliamentary ways.

New elections are set for February 8, 1925, in order to create an artificial parliamentary majority that will blindly follow the present holders of power.

The first attempt to establish a government on the basis of an entente cordiale between the national groups was brutally defeated. Those ministers who were accused of corruption and dishonor have been freed from indictment and they may now cry jubilantly that "evil spreads over the earth."

22. A regime of violence and corruption which has proved its complete administrative incapacity is now oppressing all parts of the country, but it is especially hostile to the Croatian people. Our cultural, social, and economic institutions are deliberately destroyed. Civil officials are mercilessly persecuted. The existence of autonomous administrative units has almost been destroyed and government commissars are administering rural communes. Business has become the prey of crooks and conscienceless exploiters. The development and existence of the Croatian people, in their domestic and foreign relations, are threatened; they have no influence over their own fate.

Thus the Croatian people are forced to work with might and main to become master in their own land. They have proved that they are ready to work peacefully with the true sons of Serbia for the freedom of all and the common good.

Conscious of its duty to the Croatian people, aware of the meaning of public events of the last six years, and standing upon the democratic principle of the sovereignty of the people the Croat Union regards it as an absolute political necessity to accept the republican idea as expressed by the Croatian deputies and in the above resolution.

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